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137 1880 and 1890). The last one on the island grew near Vai-mata but died recently "because there were no more kings." From the distribution of the sandalwood, it seems likely that the *nunau* was the true sandalwood and not the bastard. Sandalwood is found on the atolls of Elizabeth and Ducie, the nearest islands to Easter Island.

UNIDENTIFIED TREES

De la Maza (208, vol. 1, p. 7) mentions an unknown tree about which he writes: "The *tumahiti* wood is rather hard and more or less pliable. The Kanakas use it to make yokes and ploughs. It is the only tree which grows freely in the island. Its fruit is oval in shape, yellowish, about half an inch in length and it tastes rather bitter."

It is likely that De la Maza has misspelled the name of the *miro-tahiti* (*Melia azedarach*), the wood generally used by the natives for wooden images and implements.

ANIMAL LIFE

136 973 Before man settled on Easter Island, animal life in its highest form was represented by flocks of sea birds, which nested on the three islets off the southwestern promontory—Motu-kaukau (Needle Rock), Motu-iti, and Motu-nui. Some birds have made their abode in the interior of Rano-kao, but a few of them are seen flying along the shores of the island itself. The native legends explain this concentration of the birds at a single point as a protective measure adopted by the god Makemake to prevent the extermination of birds by egg hunters.

136 The importance of sea birds in native mythology and art makes necessary a brief enumeration of the species identified by our Expedition. On Motu-nui, we collected petrels (*taiho, Pterodroma heraldica paschae*), gray terns (*tuvituvi, Procelsterna caerulea skottsbergi*), white terns (*kia-kia, Leucanous albus royanus*), noddy terns (*tuao, Anous stolidus unicolor*), gray-backed terns (*manutara, Sterna lunata*), boobies (*kena, Sula dactylatra* subsp. ?), tropic birds (*tavake, Phaeton* sp.), and *makohe* (*Fregata minor* subsp. ?). A specimen of *Oestrelata incerta* or *leucoptera* was designated under the name of *kumara* and a *Sula Cyanops* as *ruru*. A list of Easter Island birds published by Knoche (123, pp. 141-144) contains the word *nguingui* for the *Gygis alba* (syn. *Leucanous albus royanus*) and *rengurengu* for the *Anous caeruleus* (syn. *Anous stolidus unicolor*).

177 322 Partridges (*vivi*) were introduced by the Chileans many years ago and have propagated rapidly. Their eggs are looked for by the natives as eagerly as those of the sea birds. An unsuccessful attempt was also made to acclimatize a Chilean scavenger, the *loica* (*Leistes superciliaris*).

The harmless little lizards (*moko*) may have been stowaways on the Polynesian canoes. They have haunted the imagination of Easter Islanders, who have carved ceremonial objects in their shape.

There are few insects on the island, and their number has certainly increased since European contacts. A sort of cricket is said to have come to the island with the fleet of Von Spee. Flies and cockroaches have become pests.

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194 sound in the Easter Island language which does not exist in other Polynesian dialects. Those of southeastern and southern Polynesia are especially similar.

The vowel sounds are the usual Polynesian *a,e,i,o,u*, given "continental" values. They may be either long or short and occasionally the quantity of a vowel may change the meaning of a word. For instance, *ūi* means to ask; *ūi*, to see. The vowels *a,e,o,u* are doubled in a great many common words. This duplication has been clearly perceived by all those who have transcribed Easter Island vocabularies. Even natives, asked to write a text in their own language, use duplicate vowels in some words. Churchill (51, p. 12) considered this a faulty rendition of long vowels. The duplication of the vowel cannot be explained as the dropping of an intermediary consonant, and, so far as I can trust my ear, there is no trace of the glottal stop on Easter Island. If the vowels were long with only an apparent reiteration, I would not have heard two distinct vowels, and surely at least one of the many visitors to this island would have transcribed such sounds as one letter. Geiseler (87, p. 46), whose phonetics is accurate and who gives both the quantity and the accent, writes *túū* (container). The duplication of the vowel in words where no consonant has been dropped is a peculiarity of the Easter Island dialect shared by no other Polynesian language.

There are nine consonants: *r, ng, n, m, h, v, k, l, p*. The *r* is soft and has developed from an intermediate sound *r-l*. This sound has sometimes been transcribed *l*, and the Easter Islanders in speaking Spanish tend to substitute the *r* for *l*. *Ng* (transcribed by Roussel *g*) is the usual palatal nasal of the Polynesian. *H* is an aspirate sound. It is very strong, and even Spanish people confuse it with the *jota*. It represents the *wh* and *h* of New Zealand and the *f* of Tahiti. The frequent appearance of *k* shows the close relationship of Easter Islanders to Tuamotuans, Maoris, and Cook Islanders. The *v* has been derived from the original Polynesian sound *w-v* and still retains a little of its primitive intermediate position.

192 The modern language of Easter Island is changing; many ancient words
197 have been forgotten, and new words of foreign origin are continually being added. Terms for social activities no longer practiced and names for the plants and animals of the island, in which the present-day natives take no interest, are not remembered. The natives are fully aware of the decadence of their language; only Tepano and a few old women were able to understand the ancient words. Many of the words recorded by Roussel are no longer understood and are said to be entirely out of use. This change in the language is a serious handicap in the translation of traditional songs.

Many Tahitian characteristics have been incorporated in the modern Easter Island language through the influence of missionaries, Tahitian natives living on the island, and the use of Tahitian prayer books. Most of the modern terms for animals and articles of European introduction are taken

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from French and adjusted to Polynesian phonetics, but some words are derived from English (51, pp. 31-32). Now Spanish is becoming more common, and, since the founding of a school at Hanga-roa by the Chilean government, its use will undoubtedly increase. Most natives are receptive to foreign languages. It is almost inevitable that the Easter Island language will disappear entirely.

By extensive comparisons of vocabularies, Churchill (51) has attempted to determine the exact position of the Easter Island language in relation to the rest of Polynesia, principally to the southeastern division. The statistical method of Churchill is not convincing, but his results are worth mentioning:

> Of the eastern Polynesian languages Churchill found the Tuamotuan dialect to be the most closely related to that of Easter Island. His Tuamotuan material is so incomplete that the affinity of the two languages must be investigated in the light of new evidence. In the vocabularies of Mangareva which were at his disposal, Churchill (51, p. 162) discovered 651 vocables common to Mangareva and Easter Island languages. The dialects differ only in that the Mangarevan *h* has been replaced by the glottal stop. This creates an important phonetic difference between the two languages. The Easter Island dialect shows striking affinity with Maori.

The grammar of the Easter Island language is typically Polynesian and presents no striking individuality. No special gestures accompany speech. The motion of denial consists of throwing the head slightly backward and lifting the eyebrows.

NAMES OF EASTER ISLAND

Easter Island was named by Roggeveen for the day on which he discovered it—Easter Sunday, 1722. In 1770 the Spaniards under Gonzalez had called it San Carlos in honor of Carlos III, the king of Spain, but this name lasted no longer than the memory of the soon-forgotten expedition. At first the Spaniards christened it "Isla de Davis", believing that they had found the island sighted by the English buccaneer, Edward Davis. Captain Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 288) uses Davis's Land as a synonym for Easter Island.

Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 293) and his companions, in 1774, unsuccessfully attempted to discover the native name of Easter Island. The name Teapi was obtained by the Tahitian, Otiti, who understood a little of the native language. Tamariki was also given, but both of these may have been place names. The name Whyhu (Vaihu) was recorded by the reconnoitering party sent by Cook to the interior:

> On its way along the coast the expedition met a chief who was asked his name and whether he was the king of the island or of only one district. The gesture of the *ariki* was interpreted as embracing all the island, and as he uttered the word Vaihu and even made affirmative gestures when called "the *ariki* of Vaihu", the explorers were persuaded that they were speaking with the king of Easter Island. On J. R. Forster's authority (84, vol. 1, p. 589), Easter Island was called Vaihu, until this name was found to apply only to a cove on the south coast near which the interview with the chief took place.

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appeared the most eager to render us a thousand services, was, in reality, ever the most to be suspected."

Following Cook's example, La Pérouse sent an expedition to explore the interior of the island. This party, led by M. de Langle, covered almost the same route as that of the English, and very few new data were recorded. The reconnaissance of the south coast was not carried farther than Ovahe. On the way back the party ascended the Rano-kao, and one of the members even descended into the crater, where he examined the lake and the fringe of vegetation around its edge. 175

The visit of La Pérouse marks the first attempt of white men to modify native culture by introducing new plants and domestic animals. The gardener of the expedition planted in appropriate soil cabbages, carrots, beets, corn, gourds, oranges, lemons, and cotton (130, vol. 1, p. 90). A couple of goats, sheep, and pigs were presented to the natives. The islanders seem to have received no particular benefit from these gifts, and none of the animals or plants is mentioned by subsequent voyagers. Sixty years later, the same food sources were reintroduced by the missionaries. Brown (27, p. 64) claims to have heard a tradition which alluded to the pigs left by the French navigator. They were supposedly kept in a hole, fed on bananas and sweet potatoes, and finally eaten together with their litter. I found no evidence that the pigs referred to in the tradition were the hog and sow given by La Pérouse. They were designated to me as animals put on the island by a boat of more recent times. 175 177

The La Pérouse Expedition made an invaluable contribution to the ethnography of Easter Island. A geographical engineer, M. Bernizet, described the houses and the monuments of the natives with the greatest technical accuracy, and an artist represented them with exactness and ability. 175 [114]

In 1804 the Russian boat *Neva*, under Urey Lisiansky, sailed around the island for four days but made no attempt to land (143, pp. 51-60).

Shortly after the visit of the *Neva*, the captain of the American schooner *Nancy* kidnapped 12 men and 10 women after a bloody combat with the natives. The victims were to have been taken to the island of Massafuero, where a colony was to be established for seal hunting. When the boat was three days off Easter Island, the prisoners were allowed on deck. The men immediately jumped overboard and swam in the direction of their home. Efforts of the captain to rescue them were vain. This same captain made several raids on the island to recruit seamen for the same project. These attacks changed the friendly attitude of the natives toward foreigners to distrust and hostility. For this reason, when Alexander Adams, captain of the Hawaiian brig the *Kahu-manu* (1806) and Captain Winship of the *Albatross* (1809) arrived at the island they were unable to land (127, vol. 1, pp. 142-144). 175 648 [609]

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175 ashore but rescued the second day. James Hamilton observed that the Easter Islanders had boats of the European type. "I do not think," he remarks, [177] "they came honestly by them, if so I think the master who gave them knowing their character for treachery, is highly culpable for I think a ship would not be safe off here, and I think there are strong reasons for that opinion from the value they appeared to set upon mine, and they know a ship's value; it would be of immense value to them." Frequent visits of the whalers to Easter Island are mentioned by Father Ollivier (165, vol. 38, p. 46).

175 648 About 1859, exploitation of the guano on the islands off the Peruvian coast was a prosperous business, but the number of workers was insufficient. The recruiting of labor by force became a flourishing industry. As early as 1859 or 1860 some Easter Islanders were kidnapped from their island and sold as slaves, but in 1862 a real war expedition was planned against the island. The only official version of this raid, which was to have such dire consequences for the island, is the following report of the French Prosecutor in Papeete (129, pp. 543-544):

> The *Cora* left the Callao the 4th of December 1862 with the mission of recruiting workers throughout Oceania. Arrived on Easter Island, the 19th of December, she found 7 ships of the same country which were already there for the same purpose. The captains of these different vessels who had hoped to obtain workers by persuasion resolved to kidnap them. The 23 of December a gang composed of 80 of these scoundrels, among whom were 7 or 8 men of the *Cora*, went ashore with their weapons, under the command of the captain of the *Rosa-Carmen*.
>
> They spread themselves out while several members of the crew attracted the natives by showing them articles which excited their greed. When about 500 natives were gathered, the chief of the pirates gave the signal, which was a revolver shot. To this signal the men answered with a volley, and about ten natives fell never to rise again. The others, terrified, tried to escape, running in all directions, some diving into the sea, others climbing the rocks; but 200 were captured and firmly tied up. A witness says that the captain of the *Cora*, Aiguirre, discovered two Indians in a cave trying to escape. As he could not convince them to come with him, he cruelly killed them. The 200 kidnapped natives were divided among the ships, which sailed some days later.

The commander of the *Topaze* (1868) says in his report (180, p. 141) that the natives who went in their canoes to barter with the Peruvian ships were captured first and then the seamen landed and kidnapped others. Several hundred were taken in that way. In 1915 there were still some old men who remembered this event. For Mrs. Routledge (194, p. 205) they illustrated by action how the raiders threw to the ground gifts which they thought most likely to attract the inhabitants and how, when the islanders were on their knees scrambling for the gifts, they tied their hands behind their backs and carried them off to the waiting ship. Among those kidnapped were the king, Kaimakoi, and his son, Maurata as well as most of the learned men (*maori*). They all died on the guano islands. The raid completely disheartened the natives. To escape from future slave raids the islanders took refuge in the

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The first white man who settled on the island was Eugène Eyraud, a layman of the Congregation of the Sacred Heart of Picpus. He landed in Hanga-roa at the beginning of 1863, with some Easter Islanders who had been rescued from a Peruvian ship. The natives were not hostile to him, but they stole most of his goods. During the first year spent among the islanders, Eyraud was constantly exposed to larcenies, especially by one native, Torometi, who had made himself a benevolent but tyrannic protector of the missionary. The natives tried to put to practical use the knowledge of Eyraud by obliging him to build a boat. At the time when his life was becoming unbearable, a schooner with two priests arrived and took him back to Chile. Two years later, Eyraud returned to Easter Island, accompanied by Father Hyppolyte Roussel and three Mangarevans who had joined the missionaries to help in the conversion of the natives. At first the natives were openly opposed to the missionaries and hampered their work, but little by little they showed more willingness to learn prayers and hymns and in less than ten months the missionary and his assistants had gained strong influence over them. In the same year (1866) new missionaries went to the island—Father Gaspard Zumbohm and Brother Theodule Escolan.

Christianity made rapid progress among the Easter Islanders. The first to be converted were the children, a few adults, and then the women. The most refractory were the old chiefs. The missionaries had their headquarters at Hanga-roa but tried to spread their teachings throughout the island. Their success was almost complete when the chief of Hotu-iti received them with great ceremony. When, a few hours before his death in 1868, Brother Eyraud asked whether all the natives had been baptized, Roussel could answer that all were Christians. The last pagan had been taken into the church a few days before at the Feast of Assumption (113, pp. 90-154). Henceforth the natives were concentrated at Hanga-roa and Vaihu where they could receive a Christian education and be under the control of the missionaries.

Profound changes took place in the material situation of the natives in the course of four or five years. The missionaries spread new arts and crafts and taught the islanders to build plank houses and to make furniture. The beautiful fig trees of the village of Hanga-roa were planted by Father Roussel, and at that time were introduced the first oranges, peaches, corn, pumpkins, and beans. In 1864 Eyraud had taken with him some sheep, which the natives stole and ate. Five years later, Father Roussel returned from a visit to Chile with a shipload of cattle, sheep, horses, pigs, donkeys, and even cats, for rats were abundant on that island.

Interesting for their native psychology and for the history of the first

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Interesting for their native psychology And for the history of the first contact between European and native cultures are the anecdotes told by Zumbohm (230, vol. 5, p. 666): 177 152

When the first horse was taken ashore the natives were greatly excited. "Some ran away as fast as they could, others lay on the ground. Those who were sufficiently brave to consider the strange thing a bit closer were not a little amazed when they saw the animal divide into two pieces when the rider dismounted." The islanders seem to have realized what a marvelous invention the wheel was. "When the wheelbarrow was loaded and set in motion, our islanders shouted with sheer admiration; the turning wheel was to them a living thing."

In 1935, officers of the *Mercator* rode bicycles on the island. Though the natives were acquainted with cars and other vehicles, the bicycles created genuine bewilderment. Many made the sign of the cross and muttered "Tatane", expressing thus the fear that the device was the work of the devil.

In 1868 the English battleship *Topaze* visited the island and took away the statue called Hoa-haka-nana-ia, which stood in a house of Orongo. Palmer (171), the surgeon on the ship, made a rapid survey of the island and went as far as Rano-raraku, which he described for the first time. His scanty information about native life shows how greatly the old culture had been impaired. The most valuable data were given him by Roussel. 114 175

Captain Ignacio L. Gana, who has written a much-quoted treatise (86) about the island, visited it on the Chilean corvette *O'Higgins*, which stopped there in 1870. All of Gana's information derives from Roussel; unfortunately the Chilean officer either misunderstood or altered the original statements of the missionary so that his information is misleading.

The successful work of the missionaries was brutally interrupted in 1870 by the activities of a French adventurer, Dutroux-Bornier, who settled on the island. Dutroux-Bornier bought from the natives, for some pieces of cloth, the place called Mataveri, one of the most fertile lands of the island. Later he associated—for the exploitation of the island—with a wealthy trader of Tahiti, Mr. Brander. Very soon Dutroux-Bornier quarreled with the missionaries and started an open war against them. He was supported by the natives who had left the village of Hanga-roa to live with him in Mataveri and by the people of Anakena who were envious of those of Hanga-roa. Toro-meti, who seems to have been a chief or a man with considerable influence, joined Dutroux-Bornier. The people of Mataveri made several raids, which were reciprocated by the people of Hanga-roa. A war broke out in which the huts of both sides were burned and some men killed. Dutroux-Bornier went so far as to shell the village with gunfire. Every day Dutroux-Bornier's men plundered Hanga-roa and Vaihu which were at last entirely destroyed. Finally Bishop Tepano Jaussen ordered the missionaries to depart from a place where no more work could be done. The same year Brander sent a boat to Easter Island to recruit part of the population for his plantations in Tahiti. He had promised that this boat would carry all the natives willing to settle with the 175 721 797 167 175

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167 missionaries in Mangareva. The whole population decided to abandon their
175 home country, but about 175 were obliged to remain because the ship was too small or, more likely, because Dutroux-Bornier needed workers and induced the captain to manage so that enough islanders were left.

175 On June 24, 1871, the Russian corvette *Vitias* stopped for a few hours in the bay of Hanga-roa. Apparently nobody went ashore and the information about the island published by Miklukho-Maklay was obtained in Mangareva from Father Roussel where the Russian sloop stopped for four days.

In 1872, the French warship *La Flore*, under Admiral F. T. de Lapelin touched briefly at Easter Island. The head of a large statue on the Hanga-roa ahu (ahu Ana-koiroroa) was taken aboard to be presented to a French museum. Pierre Loti, who was then a midshipman on board the *La Flore*, wrote a description (146) more poetical and romantic than accurate, which has popularized in France the legend and the mystery of Easter Island.

The French warship *Seignelay* visited the island in 1877, a few days after the natives had murdered Dutroux-Bornier. At that time, there was apparently nothing left of the work of the missionaries. The French traveler, Pinart (178), who accompanied the *Seignelay*, made a rapid survey of the archaeological remains on the island, paying slight attention to the native life.

After 1877, the ships which called at Easter Island became so numerous that it is unnecessary to mention their visits unless they have added to our information about the past of the island or have effected some changes in the life of the islanders. Since 1864 white men have been permanently established on the island; through them and Tahitians much of European influence has come to the natives.

175 After the death of Dutroux-Bornier, Alexander P. Salmon, associate of
177 Brander, took his place on the island. Salmon, who was an intelligent man and half Tahitian, understood native ways. Certainly he has done more than anyone else to modify the ideas and the material life of the Easter Islanders. Economically the changes were important—more cattle were introduced, and in 1886 there were already 18,000 sheep on the island.

175 Geiseler visited the island in 1882 as commander of the German sloop
114 *Hyane*. In the few days he spent there, he made the most complete ethnological collection which has ever been obtained from the island and gathered much important data.

The American ship *Mohican* stopped at Easter Island for 11 days at the end of 1886. Paymaster Thomson and Dr. Cooke, surgeon of the ship, made a general survey of the archaeology of the island and recorded precious ethnological data. Thomson's report on Easter Island is perhaps, aside from the narratives of the first discoverers, the most important source on the past of the island, but Salmon, who was on the island at the time of the visits of Geiseler and Thomson, must be credited for most of the data and the

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documents which have been recorded. The chants and native poetry published by Thomson were transcribed and translated by Salmon, who also obtained the long list of kings which is given in the same paper. 175 114

During 1914-1915 Mrs. Routledge spent 16 months on the island and thoroughly studied its archaeology and ethnology. Unfortunately only the popular account (194) of this expedition and a monograph on Orongo (195) have been published. Routledge's survey seems to have been very detailed, and it is regrettable that her findings have not been made available.

Although France had certain rights on the island, she formally renounced them, and in 1888 the Chilean captain, Policarpo Toro, annexed the island for Chile. An unsuccessful attempt at colonization was made by Pedro Toro Hurtado, who took a group of Chileans to the island. Mr. H. Merlet of Valparaiso acquired from the representatives of Brander, Dutroux-Bornier, and Salmon the interests they held on Easter Island. The Chilean government leased the whole island with the exception of the village of Hanga-roa and the near-by lands which remained the property of the natives. The interests purchased by Merlet were sold to the Compania Explotadora de la Isla de Pascua (Williamson and Balfour Co.) who still own the land. 175 648

Every year the Chilean training ship *Baquedano* goes to Easter Island. The commander of the ship has a supervisory authority and settles all the conflicts which have arisen during the year. Unfortunately the *Baquedano* stops at the island for only a few days, and the various problems of the natives can receive but superficial treatment. The training ship carries to the island old clothes given by Chilean families. These are distributed among the natives, very often in exchange for curios. 648

The Williamson and Balfour Co. is the only real link the natives have with western civilization. It gives them work and the opportunity to buy the European articles and food they need. Of the 61 square miles, 7.72 square miles belong to the natives; the rest belongs to the company. At present the natives have more land than they need and cultivate only a part of it. When a young couple marries, the government gives them 10 hectares. Perhaps in the distant future, if the population continues to increase at the present rate, the islanders will need more land. With the exception of employees of the company, the natives are not allowed to cross the boundaries of the strip of land which is reserved for them. This measure, which may seem drastic, has been taken to prevent sheep stealing, which is carried on by natives as a kind of sport. Despite barbed wire, no week passes in which they fail to organize a raid on the sheep. Between two and three thousand animals disappeared thus in 1934. 177 ● 423 674

A few natives are permanent employees of the company. They watch the gates which give access to the company's property, form night patrols, and do routine work on the farms. At shearing time most of the young men and women on the island gather at Vai-tea, the farm in the middle of the island, 464

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rumors, and are easily convinced that others nourish bad intentions toward them. The most serious recent conflict occurred in 1914 (194, pp. 141-149); the natives, encouraged by an old woman named Angata, killed a great many animals and claimed possession of the cattle and land. The uprising was provoked by the action of a white man, but Angata kindled the animosity of the natives by dreams in which God supposedly revealed His will to her. Sure of divine protection, they became very daring. The agitation finally subsided, as such things usually do among the natives who indulge in novelties and soon grow tired of them. There have been more recent disturbances, but none so grave as that witnessed by Routledge. However, since the natives are constantly incited against the company, it is probable that trouble will again arise. 152 648

The most interesting aspect of the culture of present-day natives is their very sincere and deep attachment to the Catholic church, though the missionaries did not stay long on the island. The last pagans were baptized only two years before the destruction of the mission. After the departure of the missionaries, the island was without a priest for 16 years. In 1886 Father Hippolyte Roussel returned to the island for 6 months. He was accompanied by Father Albert Montiton. Later, several priests visited the island but stayed only a short time. Recently some Chilean priests have remained longer, among them Father Bienvenido Estella, who has written an account of his experience in Easter Island (80). However, for various reasons, no priest resides there permanently and rites are performed by a catechist of Mangarevan origin. Every day the natives gather in the church to make their prayers together; on Sunday they celebrate a kind of mass, and four times a week they spiritually associate themselves with the masses celebrated throughout the world. The hymns taught by the French missionaries are still sung in the church and the tradition is kept alive by a singing school, presided over by women whose mothers had received the teachings of missionaries. The grip of Christianity has been so strong that very few pagan beliefs or practices have survived. The fear of ghosts and the importance given to prayers are the only traces of primitive religion. 771 794 797

METEOROLOGY

Nights of the Moon

The old Polynesian system of counting time by lunar months in which each night had an individual name was abandoned by the natives when they became Christians. The new faith could not be adapted without the Roman calendar upon which are based all the feasts prescribed by the Catholic Church. The natives are so scrupulous in observance of these holy days that it is not surprising that the European calendar has entirely superseded the primitive system of reckoning time. The old life was so deeply transformed by contact 177 805

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with the new civilization that importance was no longer given to the phases of the moon as a guide for fishing and planting.

The confusion in the list of the nights of the moon is due to the decadence of native life after 1864. Father Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 234), one of the first missionaries on the island, says that the natives had difficulty in correlating the lunar month with the solar year and that bitter quarrels arose on that account, even after the coming of the Europeans. Only a few names of nights of the moon are still remembered. They are used as descriptive terms for phases of the moon and not as part of a system. Thomson (215, p. 546) obtained from Salmon, in 1886, a list of nights of the moon. Some confusion and errors have crept into this list and some names are lacking.

The Easter Islanders divided the lunar month into two halves; the first half ended with the full moon on the 15th or 17th night, and the second half ended with the waning moon. The following list of names is based on Thomson's list (215, p. 546), revised in spelling and sequence by Dr. P. H. Buck so as to correspond with other Polynesian systems. Names in parentheses are forms printed in Thomson's account. The prefix *o* was undoubtedly added before some names by the Tahitian, Salmon.

Nights of the Moon

1. Tireo	11. Maharu	21. Kokore toru
2. Hiro	12. Hua (Ohua)	22. Kokore ha
3. Ata (Oata)	13. Atua (Otua)	23. Kokore rima
4. Ari (Oari)	14. Hotu (Ohotu)	24. Tapume
5. Kokore tahi	15. Maure	25. Matua
6. Kokore rua	16. Ina-ira	26. Rongo (Orongo)
7. Kokore toru	17. Rakau	27. Rongo Tane (Orongo Taane)
8. Kokore ha	18. Motohi	28. Mauri-nui
9. Kokore rima	19. Kokore tahi	29. Mauri-kero
10. Kokore ono	20. Kokore rua	30. Mutu (Omutu)

Thomson's list ends with Tueo (misspelling for Tiero), Oata, and Oari, which in other parts of Polynesia are names for the first nights of the moon. Thomson's list omits Hiro (2d night) which was given to me as the name for a new crescent moon. By transposing the names Tiero, Ari, and Ata, and inserting Hiro, the Easter Island list is brought into conformity with those of New Zealand, Tahiti, Cook Islands, and Tongareva, and the number of named nights is brought up to 30 as required by the lunar month which has 29.5 days.

Compared with nights of the moon in other parts of Polynesia, the Easter Island list presents some abnormalities that may be due to confusion or to the informant's lack of knowledge. Thus Ari is given as the 4th night in the Easter Island list; elsewhere it is the 10th (Cook, Tuamotu, Marquesas, New Zealand), the 11th (New Zealand, Tongareva, Tahiti), or the 9th (Manihiki). The Kokore series occurs everywhere except New Zealand and Tongareva. In the first half of the lunar month there are six Kokore nights; the number usually varies from two to four (Hawaii, Mangareva). These extra Kokore in Easter

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Island may have been used to fill gaps, but it is impossible to say whether they were introduced in pre-European time or by Salmon's informant. The names of the middle period (10th to 17th nights) are usually single names, and their sequence is consistent throughout Polynesia. Easter Island is no exception to this rule, but Ari has been shifted, and Huna, the 11th or 12th night in other islands, has been dropped. Maitu, which is restricted to central Polynesia, and Marangi, usually the 16th night, do not appear in the lists of New Zealand or Easter Island. On Easter Island, Marangi is replaced by Ina-ira, which is a form without equivalent in Polynesia and may be a misprint. Maure, 15th night in Easter Island, is 16th night in New Zealand and 17th night in Mangareva. 192 805

The general Polynesian pattern for the last thirteen nights of the moon consists of three groups of three names and ends with four individual nights (28, p. 410). At one time Easter Island may have had the same sequence. The original regularity of this last period has been broken also in the Marquesas, Mangareva, and New Zealand. These discrepancies are to be attributed either to defective recording or to local innovations. In the Easter Island list Rakau is the name for the 17th instead of the 18th night, but is followed in correct sequence by Motohi (Motahi). Buck believes that the five Kokore, which follow in succession, never functioned in the pre-European culture of the island. They were probably added to replace forgotten names. Tapume and Matua (24-25) have no parallel elsewhere. Mauri was divided into Mauri-nui and Mauri-kero. Mauri-kero is found in the Marquesas and Tuamotus (28, p. 410). This list ends with Mutu, as in all other places except the Tuamotus, Marquesas, and Mangareva.

Months

In recent times the names for the lunar months have been made equivalent to those of the Gregorian calendar. Formerly the natives recognized the difference between the two systems, and some lunar months in Thomson's list (215, p. 546) extend over two calendar months. 177

The following list is based on my own documents. The equivalents in parentheses are those given by Thomson.

Tuuaharo: January (February)
Hehe-tuupu: February (Te tuupu, March)
Tarahau: March (April)
Vaitu-nui: April (May, big winter)
Vaitu-poto: May (June, short winter)
Te Maro: June (July)
Anakena: July (August)
Hora-iti: August (September, little summer)
Hora-nui: September (October, big summer)
Tangaroa-uri: October (part of November)
Ruti: November (December and January)
Koro: December (January)

A list collected by Martinez (151) agrees exactly with mine except that Koro is given for January and the succeeding names are shifted ahead one month. Thomson's list, recorded at an early date, expresses the uncertainty felt by the natives in making their lunar months correspond with the European calendar. However, this overlapping is indicated only for the summer months when Thomson was on the island. The other names are given as equivalent to European calendar months. Roussel (190) gives the following equivalents: October and November (Ora-nui), December and January (Ora), March

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Matamea (Mars), Tautoru (The Belt of Orion), and Pau, a star which appears in October or November. The appearance of these three stars in October foretold death and evil. Fishermen were in danger of being caught by fabulous sharks (*ninhi*). Everyone had to behave properly lest a member of his family should disappear. At the end of the month, the priests climbed a tower (*tupa*) near the ahu and from there they announced to the crowd that the position of the stars had changed and that henceforth they could do no harm. Matamea and Tautoru were "bad" stars but Pau was sometimes bad and sometimes good. Reitanga is the name for Sirius. Near ahu Hihinatangi-kotea there are six boulders whose form and position are said to represent the Pleiades (Matariki) and to have been put there by Tuu-ko-ihu, the culture hero, to remind people that the Pleiades are sometimes dangerous and can bring death.

An obscure tradition connects Matamea (Mars) with the raising of certain crops. A tapu was observed as long as this star did not appear in the sky.

Routledge (194, p. 235) mentions an observatory on Poike:

> On the extremity of the eastern headland there is an outcrop of boulders, one of which is incised with a spiral design; the place is known as "Ko Te Papa-ui-hetuu", or "The Rock-for-seeing-stars" and here the old men came to watch the constellations. About two hundred yards from these boulders there is another engraved stone on which ten cup-shaped depressions are visible; this represented, it is said, "a map of the stars."

The natives did not show me this place and never mentioned it in discussions. Artificial depressions in rows or files are very frequent near the ancient settlements. Various natives interpret them differently as drops of rain, enemies slain by a famous warrior, tattooing marks, and so on.

Routledge (194, p. 235) gives the legend of the children changed into stars as the only nature myth she obtained on Easter Island. It was introduced recently by Tahitians and does not refer, as she suggests, to Orion but to 3° Scorpio or Scorpii. The Tahitian origin of the myth is well remembered by the natives, who told it to me as follows:

> A woman went to a place where there was a feast. She saw the feast and came back with her children. Her husband saw that she was not at home and stayed to watch when she would come back. When the wife came, he asked her, "Where are you coming from?" "I come from the feast with the children." "Who told you to go to the feast?" She answered: "I went there by myself."
>
> The man beat the woman, he hurt her, and she fled with the children to the sky and remained fastened there. The man shouted, "E pipiri ma, come back." "No, we shall not return; we shall stay here forever."

Routledge (194, p. 235) gives a slightly different version in which the woman was carried off by a stranger. The husband slew her, and she fled to the sky and was changed into a star. The husband took their two boys and followed her to the sky, ". . . where the three form the belt of Orion."

This myth is very popular in Tahiti and from there has spread to the

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821 Tuamotus and perhaps to Mangareva (201, p. 488). The original Tahitian
773 myth has been changed on Easter Island. In Tahiti (38, pp. 114-115) and
177 in the Tuamotus (201, p. 488) the two children went to the sky because they were angry at their parents who neglected to give them the products of a fishing party. Both parents fled to the sky in pursuit and the four were changed into stars.

Winds

192 In Easter Island, as in other parts of Polynesia, the winds are named
821 according to the direction from which they blow, and the same terms are used for the directions. I recorded the following wind names:

Tokerau: north
Papakino: north and west
Tongariki: northeast
Marengorengo (Mareioreio), Matatohio: east
Anoraro, Ohohe (?): southeast
Motu-rauri, Puhi-orongo: south
Vaitarai, Tangaroa-aria: west

The present natives do not know the exact direction of the winds. Tongariki is the name of an important ahu on the south coast, and, as *tonga* means south in most Polynesian dialects, it is very likely that Tonga-riki was also the name of the south wind. *Tonga* means winter as well. Papakino are bad (*kino*) stormy winds from north and west. Puhi-orongo (south wind) denotes the village of Orongo, on the southwestern promontory, from which the wind blows. Motu-rauri designates a rock off the south shore. Roussel (191) translates *tokerau* as south (*tokerau tai*, south sea), but *tokerau* is also the general name for wind. In Mangareva and the Tuamotus, *tokerau* means north wind. In referring to the north wind as being dangerous to the Miru, Tepano used the word *tokerau*.

A light breeze is *ara*, a strong wind accompanied by a squall is *matangi* or *puhi*, a calm is called *tae makenu*.

Some winds were considered hostile to certain tribes whose enemies are said to have attacked them when those winds blew. The winds called Papakino "made the Miru shy" and favored the Tupa-hotu. The winds Tangaroa-aria and Veki were unlucky for the Marama, and the Marengorengo (Mareioreio) and Runapiropiro boded ill for Ngaure. The members of a tribe are born and die during the blowing of their own wind.

Matangi was the general name given to me for clouds, but it seems to have been used also for a cloud that announced a strong wind. Roussel gives the word *kohu* for mist or fog. The natives classify clouds on a color basis. In this list the word *rangi* (sky) is used as a synonym for cloud. Other terms are: *rangi pungi* (big cumuli), *rangi teatea* (white clouds), *rangi uri* (dark clouds), *rangi punga kirikiri miri* (clouds alternately white and gray like the bark of certain trees), *rangi e ata* (red clouds).

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to them after contact with European civilization. It is almost certain that before the coming of the white men, no reference to Easter Island existed in the native traditions of any other Polynesian island.

THE INDIVIDUAL IN SOCIETY

The small native community concentrated in the village of Hanga-roa presents today construction quite different from that which would have been observed before the collapse of the old culture. The intermixture of tribes has entirely changed the relationship of the individual to society and has abolished all ancient regulations and mutual obligations. Nowadays the only unity within the village is the biological family, whose importance has been maintained and perhaps increased since the introduction of the Catholic religion.

The present population of Hanga-roa village would be an interesting field for the study of changing culture and adaptation. Easter Islanders are the only Polynesians who have been subjected to the influence of a Spanish-speaking country. Contact with South American people has developed a type of society worthy of study and comparison with social conditions of Polynesians on other islands.

The culture pattern of Easter Island has been so greatly modified that very little information may be obtained as to the type of relationship observed in olden days. It is likely that after long contact with the natives certain tendencies which have been transmitted unaltered from pre-European times would be noticed, but these would be difficult to determine as they are not crystallized into specific institutions. They probably belong to the category of widespread attitudes observed by Polynesians in general. As most of my time on the island was spent in an attempt to reconstruct the past, I had little opportunity to study the new mode of life. So little is known of the past that it is impossible to determine whether the behavior followed by present natives is a survival of an ancient pattern or an adaptation due to changed conditions.

THE HOUSEHOLD

On Easter Island there are fifty houses for the present population of 456 natives, an average of nine persons for each house. The households include grandparents, parents and their children, brothers with their wives and children, and very often relatives or friends who are "visiting." The custom of living for an indefinite period in the home of a relative or friend is so common that it is a well-established institution. If a family is without resources, all or some of its members settle in the house of some other family. They are always welcomed and no one considers them parasites. "Visitors" usually choose a well-provided house. I found a few people who lived permanently in the homes of friends. Most of these were unmarried women with chil-

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Death

Funeral Rites

The rites which accompanied burial were probably the last of the ancient Easter Island customs to yield to missionary influence. As late as 1880 the natives still felt reluctant to bury their dead in the Catholic cemetery and used to steal the bodies at night and carry them to the ahus (funeral terraces) of their ancestors. I saw two isolated graves at the bay of Hangoteo in which, the natives explained, were buried two Christians whom relatives had tried to put in their lineage ahu, but who had been again inhumed according to the Catholic ceremonial. The persistency of ancient funeral customs has helped to preserve in the memories of Easter Islanders more details concerning death rituals than of any other phase of the old culture. An insight into native practices may be had from a study of the 200 to 250 ahus scattered throughout the island (p. 283). Although the ahus were probably sanctuaries of the various social units, their use as sepulchers has entirely obliterated any other significance and to the present natives they are the equivalent of our cemeteries.

Soon after death the body was "wrapped in a straw mat [tapa or rush mat] longer than the body and tied with *purau* string. The whole bundle was put in front of the house, on the shore. These bodies, enveloped in mats, were placed on a heap of stones or on a kind of wooden structure, the head being turned toward the sea" (81, vol. 38, p. 74). Sometimes the corpse was wrapped in tapa and "lowered into the cleft of a rock or some other inaccessible place" (171, p. 174). We discovered many skeletons concealed in caves or fissures in the rock along the north coast, thus attesting to the accuracy of this statement. After exposure near the house the corpse was carried on staves to the ahu where it was placed on an oblong frame. According to Routledge (194, p. 170),

> . . . this [frame] consisted of four corner uprights set up in the ground, the upper extremities of which were Y-shaped, two transverse bars rested in the bifurcated ends, one at the head, the other at the foot, and on these transverse bars were placed the extremities of the bundle which wrapped the corpse. . . . At times, instead of four supports, two stones were used with a hole in each, into which a Y-shaped stick was placed.

This last type of platform must have been exceptional, for stone cylinders which might have served such a purpose are found only at the ahu Hangahahave. (See p. 302.)

It is not known how long the dead were exposed. Probably when they were entirely decomposed the remainder of the bodies was removed to a vault of the ahu. Routledge's statement that fishhooks, chisels, and other objects were sometimes included with the dead seems very doubtful as there is no surviving tradition of any such practice and no implements have been discovered in the ahus.

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During a funeral the people wept and danced, while they lamented the dead as follows:

E koro e, ka moemoe koe, tou aringa ena,	O father, you are lying, your face,
E koro e, aue taua e, e koro e, e koro kai nui e,	Father, alas for us, father, father who brought us much food,
Ika nui e, koreha nui e, koira nui e,	Many fish, many eels, many conger eels,
Toa nui e, maika nui e.	Much sugar cane, many bananas.

The woman wept enumerating all that her husband had done:

E koro e, ka moemoe koe, tou aringa ena,	O father, you are lying, your face,
Aue taua e, e koro e, e koro kai nui e,	Alas for us, father, O father who brought much food,
Ika nui e, uhi nui e, kumara nui e,	Many fish, many yams, many sweet potatoes,
Koreha nui e, toa nui e, maika nui e,	Many eels, much sugar cane, many bananas,
E koro tae noinoi ki hare era e,	O father who did not go begging to the houses of others.
Aue koro e, i ngaroro ai e.	He is lost.
E koro ika nui, o hau tangitangi e.	O father, great fisherman, your taut line sung.
Aue taua e.	Alas for us two.

The wife wept each time she saw an article of food that reminded her of her husband. At a woman's funeral the men wept, but did not sing. They merely said:

Aue hua e takatore nui e, heke nui e, tuamingo nui e.	O lady, you brought always many shells, many octopus, many *tuamingo* [species of fish].

The family contributed to the heavy funeral expenses. Relatives paid singers who improvised songs called *ate atua* (praising the dead). The singers sat in two rows with the women in front and the men behind. Only one man danced on the resounding board, a wooden slab placed over a hole in the ground.

Today when a native dies the catechist observes the Catholic rites. Everyone recites the prayers for the death and sings religious hymns. The only survival of the old ceremonial is a banquet held by the natives on the death day. Sometimes they even dance on this occasion. Such practices were severely condemned by Father Estella, who succeeded in shifting the mortuary feast to the day after death. The natives promised him that they would make no *umu* for great crowds, only small ones for the nearest relatives. The occasion of the priest's intervention was a feast celebrated after news of an Easter Islander's death in Chile had reached the island. The priest complained that the natives were excited by the banquet and could not refrain from speaking loudly and dancing the *upaupa*.

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764 177 Twenty years ago Routledge (194, p. 149) assisted in the interment of Angata, Pakomio's mother, who was put into a coffin and lowered into a grave in the Catholic cemetery. Curiously enough her prie-dieu was buried with her. Three English cheers added the only odd touch to the whole ceremony which was performed according to strictest Catholic custom. On the same day, a great feast of pigs was held, probably as a funeral banquet.

765 From the English Company I obtained an old photograph showing a group of girls, dressed in white, singing for the dead. My informant, Victoria Rapahango, told me later that the picture was taken at a feast held six months after the death of one of her children. The long period between the death and the feast suggests a survival of some old custom.

769 787 775 Offerings of food were made for the dead, but we do not know whether this was a general custom for all dead or only for those who asked for food through the medium of dreams or in the form of ghosts. Our only source of information is the following passage in a letter of Father Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 120):

> As to the souls of the bad men, they stay near the corpses enduring hunger and thirst in proportion to their wickedness. From there they sometimes go to beg food from their relatives and friends who must give it if they wish to be rid of the importunity of the dead. I had many opportunities to fight against this superstition, especially among women who had been converted. Very often, as a consequence of a nightmare, they were induced to put food on the grave of a relative they believed they had seen in a dream.

765 262 The mourning of relatives lasts from one to two years (87, p. 30) or even three years, according to Routledge (194, p. 171). For only sons the mourning might have continued for three or four years. Relatives—we do not know exactly who—had to keep food tapus and were not allowed to eat sweet potatoes (87, p. 30). When the mourning was over a great feast was celebrated and the "pappa was finished" (194, p. 171).

Comparison with other Polynesian Funeral Rites

171 764 The wooden platforms on which the corpses were exposed resemble the Mangarevan biers described and figured by Beechey (15, vol. 1, p. 170). They are also similar to the Marquesan biers resting on four posts (142, p. 57). The stone platforms behind some Easter Island ahus have their equivalents in the Marquesas. On Hivaoa the platform for the dead was made of stream boulders, well fitted together and encasing rough stones, rubble, and earth (104, p. 117).

SUICIDE

762 152 Suicide is reported to have been very frequent before Christianity was introduced. For the "slightest provocation" natives jumped from a cliff (190, p. 464). Very likely the psychological background for these suicides was the same as in other parts of Polynesia, especially Mangareva, where it seems to

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241 writes (123, p. 124): "All the cultures in the surroundings of Hanga-roa are in bad shape and covered with weeds. They are not manured and their limits are badly indicated." Actually the aspect of each field varies with its owner and most of the plantations which I saw were as well cared for as those in Europe.

The impression that one receives by reading the descriptions of the first visitors to the island is that plantations were numerous and well ordered. The symmetry of the fields "prettily laid out by line" or "in a rectangular figure" is generally stressed in these early accounts (130, vol. 2, p. 259; 53, vol. 1, p. 294) as well as the fact that there were neither fences nor hedges except around the paper mulberry plantations. A mulch of dried grass was laid over some of the fields to protect the crops from the heat of the sun, to retain moisture, and to serve as manure (83, vol. 1, p. 579; 215, p. 456). Grass was sometimes "burnt in heaps" in order to fertilize the soil with its ashes. De Langle (130, vol. 1, p. 78) praises the soil as "a very fat vegetable earth, very proper for the culture of our grain." Beechey (15, vol. 1, p. 41) saw numerous fields along the north coast which, if his statements are correct, bore the mark of an advanced technique: "Such places as were not immediately exposed to the scorching rays of the sun were laid out in oblong strips taking the direction of the ravines; and furrows were ploughed at right angles to them, for the purposes of intercepting the streams of water in their descent."

412 241 The digging stick was used until 1912. It has since been displaced by the plow, the spade, and the iron stick.

[177] There were two kinds of digging sticks. One was very solid, called *oka* or *huki*, and was used to loosen the soil, to break up clods of earth, and to remove stones. It was sometimes replaced by an oblong stone. The other (*akaue*) was thinner, a real dibble used to plant tubers. To plant yams or sweet potatoes is *hao*; to plant sugar cane or bananas is *oka*. The ancient word for "to harvest," "dig out" yams, taro, or sweet potatoes is *huaki*, but the word *keri* is more generally known today. The act of weeding is called *vere*.

241 462 Agriculture is largely the work of men though harvesting is done by both men and women. Men plant tubers and sow corn. Formerly the entire extended family cooperated in the tilling of the soil and in planting, but nowadays agriculture is carried on by the owner of the fields, his wife, or his children. Crops were under a *rahui* (tapu) until the moment of harvesting was [821] authorized by the chief. The positions of certain stars (*matamea*) fixed the time for crops and the harvest was accompanied by great feasts.

241 The efforts of ancient agriculturalists have been greatly underestimated. It is no easy task to remove the stones from the ground, to pull up the long-rooted weeds which cover it, then to loosen the soil, to build mounds, and finally to cover the young plants with grass. These requirements, coupled with the fact that the climate permits the growing of crops the year around, explain why Easter Islanders do not cultivate large areas.

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CULTIVATED PLANTS

Hotu-matua is said to have brought to Easter Island all the plants that the natives formerly cultivated, some of which they still raise on a small scale. There is little doubt that most of these plants were growing on the island when the first discoverers landed there. Some additional varieties may have been introduced later, when active intercourse between Tahiti and Easter Island became common. On the other hand, many varieties and forms of plants have died out and some species, the arrowroot (*pia*) for example, have entirely disappeared. In 1780 La Pérouse (130, vol. 1, p. 78) made the first attempt to introduce new plants on the island. The gardener of his expedition sowed cabbage, carrot, beet, corn, and gourd seeds together with orange, citron, and cotton. Nothing is known as to the fate of these plants or the natives' attitude toward them. The missionaries, especially Roussel, and later the colonist Salmon, greatly increased the resources of the island by introducing useful plants and trees. Figs and mulberry trees, grapes, peaches, *miro-tahiti* (*Melia azedarach*), and acacias are associated in the natives' memory with the name of Father Roussel who first brought them to the island. The English managers residing at Mataveri have done much to acquaint the natives with new kinds of food.

Sweet Potato

The sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*) is known as *kumara*. Its importance to Easter Islanders is symbolically expressed in the following sentence in which a woman of the island epitomizes the monotony of life in that isolated land: "Here we begin at birth by eating sweet potatoes, then we go on eating sweet potatoes, and finally we die." Eyraud (81, vol. 38, p. 126), the first European to live a long time with the Easter Islanders, says: "They cook the eternal sweet potatoes. It is the everyday dish, the invariable staple food of the Kanaka, big and small." Behrens (18, vol. 1, p. 130) correctly states that sweet potatoes take the place of bread on Easter Island. Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 288) asserts that the sweet potatoes he ate on the island were the best he ever tasted, and Thomson (215, p. 456) reiterates the statement. According to G. Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 573) they were "gold, yellow and as sweet as carrots and extremely nourishing."

Sweet potatoes thrive in well-drained soil and porosity is one of the chief characteristics of Easter Island ground. Nowadays ground for the cultivation of sweet potatoes is tilled with the plow, but the old method of sticking (*hao*) the stems with buds (*tumu hua*) into small earth mounds (*puku*) is still used. I was told that when the plant is high the mound around it is raised (*puke*) in order to prevent attacks of insects and rot. The term *kau* applies to the stems of the potato which root to form the new plant; *roria* applies to the

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fibers served for tying purposes in the construction of houses. Today they are used in making baskets.

Gourds

White gourds, *hue* (*Lagenaria vulgaris*), were among the plants seen by the Spaniards in the fields of Easter Island (90, p. 123). They did not escape the attention of Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 288), though Forster failed to notice them.

The gourds, which fifty years ago grew wild over the island, were once abundant, but they seem to have disappeared entirely. Some of the graves we opened contained fragments of gourds in rather bad condition.

I assume that there was only one variety of gourd on Easter Island. The names that Knoche (123, p. 118) gives as varieties of calabashes are actually names of something quite different. The word *hipu* means container and applies of course to the gourds which were the only containers used by the natives. *Pakahara* means the shell of anything, but especially of a gourd. *Mautini* are pumpkins which have been introduced, probably from Tahiti where they have the same name.

Gourds were of two kinds. The round ones were used as containers for small things and the elongated ones were for water. Large calabashes in which the natives kept clothes, soaked mulberry bark, or boiled potatoes were called *kaha*.

Paper Mulberry

Paper mulberry trees, *mahute* (*Broussonetia papyrifera*), were raised in the enclosures found near the ancient villages, according to informants. These enclosures, some of which may also have been used for banana trees (fig. 2),

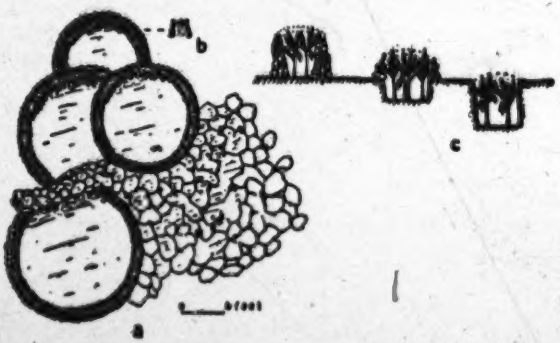

FIGURE 2.—Cultivation enclosures: *a*, enclosure near Vai-tarai-kai-ua; *b*, cross section of wall construction of enclosure shown in *a*; *c*, three types of enclosure in section, scale 1:200 (from Skottsberg, 208, vol. 1, fig. 2).

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white men. However, no early visitor mentions the arrowroot and it is not cultivated today. It may have been replaced by manioc.

Coconut

In the second part of the nineteenth century, some coconut trees or simply some coconuts (*niu, makoi*) were brought to the island either by Easter Islanders returning from Tahiti or by missionaries. This explains why Palmer (171, p. 170) saw large coconut bowls, although he was unable to find any coconut trees. It is probably to that attempt at coconut cultivation that Tepano alluded when he told me that in his mother's time there were some coconut trees at Poike, near Maunga Teatea. They are purported to have been destroyed during the war between the Miru and the Tupa-hotu. Tepano affirms having seen ancient boxes made from coconuts. The two trees now growing on the island were planted by Salmon.

Foreign Plants

Plants of European or American origin, now cultivated on Easter Island, are peas (*pipi*), beans (*ariko*), melons (*melone*), watermelons (*santia*), onions (*onioni*), manioc (*manioko*), maize (*tarake*), pepper (*oporo*), and pineapple (*anana*). Fig trees (*pika*) and mulberries (*monamona*) are abundant but the natives care little for their fruits.

The island soil is particularly favorable for beans and though the islanders complain that potatoes do not thrive, those of the English resident are the best I have tasted anywhere. The Williamson and Balfour Company is trying to develop the cultivation of maize by the natives, who have prospects of selling it at good prices, but few islanders have taken advantage of the opportunity.

Comparison with Cultivated Plants on other Polynesian Islands

The plants introduced and cultivated on Easter Island in early days are all Polynesian species. Due to the cold climate there are no breadfruit trees on the island and the two coconut trees do not bear fruit. In this respect Easter Island resembles Rapa where, because of the cold, there are no breadfruits, coconuts, and probably no pandanus.

Easter Island has no kava though kava was consumed on Mangareva and in the Marquesas whence the Easter Islanders probably came. Perhaps the Easter Island climate is unfavorable. The name kava is used on Easter Island in the composite form *kavakava atua*, designating a fern. Kava is also absent on Rapa though the climate there is suitable for its growth.

In the Marquesas as on Easter Island sugar cane and paper mulberry were cultivated in enclosures (104, p. 67).

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Ngaoho

Ngaoho (*Caesalpinia bonduc*) is almost extinct. According to Knoche (123, p. 123) it was used as a medicine. Its fibers were resorted to for tying together pieces of wood in canoes or fastening poles of hut frames. Fuentes (208, vol. 2, p. 72) says that the natives listed *ngaoho* as a plant introduced by their ancestors, but both Skottsberg and my informants consider it to be indigenous.

Moss

Para (*Campylopus turficola*) is a green moss which covers the lakes of the craters. It is mentioned by Routledge as a *Sphagnum*. Skottsberg (208, vol. 2, p. 501) says explicitly that he has not found *Sphagnum* in the lake, but in its place a species of *Campylopus* which forms a peat. The peat was gathered, washed and dried to be used in the preservation of water. The moss was also used to stop the chinks of canoes.

Seaweed

Rollin, one of the officers under La Pérouse (130, vol. 2, p. 240), noticed that some of the Easter Islanders were eating "a species of marine *fucus*, which they gather on the shore." The names of the edible seaweed are *miritonu, miritonu mama, auke,* and *ringaringa-pea*. Nowadays only children enjoy eating seaweed.

Fire

Although the use of matches became general on the island after 1880, the ancient method of making fire by rubbing is still remembered. From what I could learn, *hau* wood (*Triumfetta semitriloba*) was the best for making fire, but a harder wood might have been used (215, p. 471). A rubbing stick preserved in the Anthropological Museum, Berkeley (1142), is made of a light material, probably *hau*. It is 185 mm. long and the tapering end is slightly curved upward. The operator, sitting on the floor, held the stick with both hands and, pressing hard, rubbed it along a longitudinal groove in another piece of *hau* or paper mulberry. The hearth was probably held in place with the foot or by an assistant. Friction ignited some fibers placed at the end of the groove as tinder. The whole operation took between five and ten minutes. *Hau* wood is soft and its particles smolder and glow easily. Therefore, it is very unlikely that the natives kept permanent fires, attended by special watchers, in order to spare themselves the trouble of producing fire by the usual method (56).

During our trip round the island the natives who accompanied us always found sufficient fuel for their fires. They gathered small twigs and dry branches or cut branches of the *miro-tahiti* which grows on several points of

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out further preparation, the animal was put into the oven (81, vol. 38, p. 131). Chickens were cooked by putting hot stones inside the body; they were never plucked beforehand (90, p. 46).

According to a tradition noted by Knoche (123, p. 182), for which I found no evidence, fish were boiled in the natural holes so commonly found on rocks. Raw fish is not eaten by modern natives, but a tradition points out that they used to do so a few generations ago.

Water, for washing new-born babies or sick people, is heated by throwing (*tunu maea vera*) glowing stones into a big calabash (*kaha*) full of water.

Sweet potatoes were generally baked in earth ovens. My informant told me that by means of hot stones they were sometimes boiled in big calabashes. Today sweet potatoes are prepared in many ways, but they are still greatly appreciated when cooked underground.

Taro is cooked in the earth oven, fried, or boiled. Taro leaves (*raupa taro*), which are also cooked in the earth oven, constitute one of the most delicious foods of Easter Island.

Ti roots are no longer eaten but in former times they were cooked (86, p. 25):

> . . . The natives put them into a hole, wrapped with leaves and covered them with grass and hot stones. When the stones were getting cold, they were replaced by others, and so on during two or three days. The recompense of all that work is the facility to keep that fruit and its delicious flavor.

Tepano described the preparation of ti in almost the same terms, but he assured me that during the three to five days the food remained in the earth it was necessary to light a fire above the oven. Because of the present abundance of sugar, the ti is no longer a delicacy.

Bananas were ripened quickly for festivals by warming them in a long ditch. A fire was lighted in the ditch, similar to that kindled in ordinary oven cooking. A layer of fresh earth was spread to extinguish the flames, the walls of the ditch were lined with fresh banana leaves (*rito*) and the bananas deposited in the ditch were covered with earth. Three or four days later the fruits were ripe.

In former times arrowroot was eaten after it had been baked either upon or in the earth oven. It is no longer grown on the island.

Little salt, if any, was used to flavor the food, and even today the natives do without it. It has been noted that they do not need salt, since they drink brackish water and absorb air impregnated with sea salt.

Seabirds' eggs were once consumed in great quantities and the natives are still very fond of them. The few islanders that accompanied us on the expedition to Motu-nui ate more than a hundred eggs within half an hour.

Nowadays cooking is generally Chilean and maize is an important food in the diet.

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MATERIAL CULTURE

WEAPONS

Easter Island weapons include spears with obsidian points, clubs, and stones to be hurled from the hand. 41

Stone Throwing

Stones were the weapons most commonly used in the beginning of a fight. To grasp a stone was an instinctive gesture with the Easter Islanders as soon as an argument started (230, vol. 6, p. 239). In all skirmishes with European seamen the natives attacked their enemies by pelting them with stones, which they threw with remarkable dexterity (15, vol. 1, p. 49). Hurling the stone with an underhand throw (*patu raro*) was a most difficult but effective method, as was casting the stone from the level of the ears. The blow was not so harmful when the stone was thrown from above the head (*patu runga*). Modern Easter Islanders insisted that slings (*maea-taea*) were known only after Easter Islanders contacted Tahitians and the early explorers who were attacked by the natives do not mention them. However, Roussel (191) translates the word *hura* as "sling". [[77]]

Spears

Two kinds of spears were used: a throwing spear or javelin (*kakau*), and a thrusting spear or pike (*vero*), both with heads of obsidian. According to Thomson the longer spears were used as missiles, the shorter as pikes or daggers for close fighting. I was told by natives that no such difference existed and that short-shafted spears were used as both daggers and javelins. The short javelins, which were hurled, were carried to the battlefield in baskets. Tales mention warriors who hid short spears under their cloaks to stab an enemy.

Tradition has it that stones and spears were dangerous only when the wind blew toward the enemy and that a rival group was attacked only when such favorable conditions existed.

Even at the time of Geiseler's visit, the natives were so skillful in throwing spears that they seldom missed aim. They were also remarkably swift in their movements and trained in the art of dodging missiles (230, vol. 6, p. 233). Spears were thrown "underhanded with the little finger foremost, without any vibratory motion" (215, p. 475). Wounds made by *mataa* were as serious as those made by pieces of glass; the scars were so conspicuous that they amazed the Spaniards under Gonzalez (90, p. 100). Geiseler (87, p. 36) saw a skull which had been split into two by a *mataa*. Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 234) writes that wounds produced by *mataa* were always fatal if they were deep.

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To catch needle fish (*ihe*) the Marquesans had a special net of the same type as that used for flying fish. It was a small bag fixed to the arms of a fork lashed to a pole (142, p. 400). It is possible that the description of the *kupenga ihe* given by my informant is inaccurate and that the Easter Island *kupenga ihe* was like the Marquesan. However, in the Tuamotus the needle fish are caught in traps, hence we may assume that set nets could be used for the same purpose.

Fish Spears

Spears used by modern natives are of European manufacture. It is impossible to determine whether a spear is old or has been introduced by Tahitian settlers. When Roussel (190, p. 355) landed on Easter Island in 1866, some of the natives were armed with European harpoons. Modern spears are from 3 to 5 meters long and belong to two types, one a simple spear with an iron point, the other with a compound point working on the principle of a fish gorge. The fisherman dives, his eyes protected by glasses, and pierces fish that swim within his reach.

Turtle Watchtowers

Turtles were watched for from turtle watchtowers (*tupa*) along the shore near ancient settlements.

One tower at La Pérouse Bay (pl. 2, *B*) is 3 meters high and the diameter of its base is about 7 meters. The entrance is 80 cm. high and 1.10 meters broad. The interior of the building consists of big, unhewn stones, well laid. Inside they project gradually until they are spanned by slabs, forming a crude corbeled vault. The largest tower is situated between La Pérouse and ahu Mahatua, near ahu Vai-mangeo. The tower has a kind of wing containing an inner chamber.

The *tupa* of ahu Akapu, seen by Cook and his party (83, vol. 1, p. 570) and accurately described by Bernizet (130, vol. 2, p. 254), is still in fairly good condition. Its construction is similar to that of the tower at La Pérouse. The interior chamber is 24 feet long by 6 feet wide and 7 feet high in the center. The walls are 4 feet thick and the door is 2 feet high by 2 feet wide.

Thomson (215, p. 484) and Routledge (194, p. 218) were told that these towers were lookout stations whence the movements of turtles and fish could be watched, and I was given the same explanation. Skottsberg (208, vol. 1, p. 12) was puzzled by the importance of the towers with their lower apartments, which are in no reasonable proportion to the purpose for which they were built. Though they are along the shore, these towers do not give the watchers any better view of the sea than any near-by hill. There are no such towers on the south coast; on the north they are few—I know of only five. In the Tuamotus and Hawaii, watchers sat at certain points along the coast to signal the arrival of turtles or fish. Heaps of stones served as elevations. The *tupa* of Easter Island were probably most similar to the Hawaiian fishermen's shrines (*ko'a*), which were terraces of stone. On some of them stood

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An old man showed Routledge (194, p. 216) how they slept in the huts: "This was parallel to the long axis of the house, the head being towards the door; the old people were in the center in couples and the younger ones in the ends."

Size of Houses

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The houses must have varied considerably in size. Bernizet (130, vol. 2, pp. 256-257), after describing one of 300 feet, says: "The small cabins are of the ordinary form; the most of them so very small as not without difficulty to afford room enough for six persons."

The largest house on Easter Island of which dimensions have been recorded is that figured in La Pérouse's atlas (130, vol. 2, p. 256) and reproduced here (fig. 16). This enormous hut, which could easily shelter 200 individuals, was probably a community house (*hare-nui*). Judging by their remains, ancient houses were generally 10 to 15 meters long and 1.5 to 2 meters broad, giving shelter to about 30 persons. The largest house foundation measured is 40 meters long and 4 meters wide. These figures correspond roughly to estimates made by early visitors to the island (186, p. 17; 5, p. 356; 15, vol. 1, p. 55; 146, p. 274).

Disappearance of Ancient Houses

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In 1877 Pinart (178, p. 238) noticed that most of the huts were made of wood from wrecked ships and in the fashion of European cabins. At that time, few reed houses were to be seen in Hanga-roa. This change in the type of house was caused by the wrecking of a ship loaded with timber from Oregon. Under the guidance of a Danish carpenter, the natives built plank houses 25 feet long and 15 feet wide. Most of the buildings received light through very small doors, but some had windows and windowpanes. The roofs were made of planks or covered with banana leaves or long grass. The floors were of earth or covered with straw. In 1886 "several rough bedsteads and chests" were already in use (215, p. 454).

The small grass huts, which survived until 1917 (208, vol. 1, pl. 10), have now disappeared. The Easter Islanders who were deported to Tahiti early in the twentieth century erected huts in the old native style. However, many details of the structure show pronounced Tahitian influences (7, pl. 9). Modern houses on Easter Island are made of planks imported from Chile, and built on short piles to escape the humidity and the annoyance of rats.

[352]

They are divided into rooms and provided with heterogeneous furniture from Chile. The old thatch roofs have been replaced by corrugated iron. Near the house is generally a little shed where cooking is done, mostly on small metal stoves imported from Chile. Tepano was the only islander to use stones in the construction of his hut, and was one of the few who slept on the floor.

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501 together, they can just sit in them so as to paddle ahead." Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 292) gives the length of canoes as 18 or 20 feet; this is clearly an overstatement, corrected by Forster who estimates the size of the canoes at 10 or 12 feet. Kotzebue (127, vol. 7, p. 137) speaks of canoes 5 to 6 feet long and 1 foot wide. Four persons were the limit of their capacity. Generally they were manned by two persons, frequently women.

824 The Easter Island canoes leaked a great deal, forcing the natives to spend much time bailing. A moss called *para* (*Campylopus hydrophilus*) was 823 used for caulking the seams. This *para* grows in great abundance on the surface of the crater lake of Rano-kao. Black earth (*varekahi*) which dried in the air was also used for the same purpose.

177 When the firm of Brander was exploiting the island, several Tahitians 501 who accompanied Salmon to Easter Island introduced Tahitian canoes, which were still used in 1911. Knoche (123, p. 189) mentions four of them, each provided with an outrigger. The tradition of canoes, given by my informants, referred partially to these boats of Tahitian type; however, several details are probably genuine.

I was told that the best wood for canoe making was the *hau* (*Triumfetta semitriloba*). Planks from this tree were sometimes about 20 cm. broad and fairly long. Their edges were beveled or rabbetted for close fitting. The pieces of wood or "patches" were sewed together by cords passing through holes pierced through the margins, and the holes were caulked with moss. The hull was painted like a checkerboard, white and dark. Canoes decorated thus were called *papa hakatara*. The outrigger described by my informant is the typically Tahitian one with indirect attachment.

The general Easter Island name for any craft is *vaka*. *Vaka poepoe* is either a canoe or a whaleboat. The keel is *tino*. The bow, *oho o te vaka*; the stern, *tua o te vaka*; the gunwale, *tuitui*. The booms are the *kioio*; the float, *ama* (*hamae*, Roussel; *amatia*, Brown, 27, p. 285); the thwarts, *pepe*. The projecting stern and bow pieces are *tuero*, which on the king's craft were decorated with wreaths of feathers.

501 Though Roggeveen says that the natives had many canoes, all the travelers who visited the island after him stressed the small number of canoes seen. In 1770 the Spaniards (90, p. 121) found only two, and they believed that these were all that the islanders had. Cook reports only three or four canoes. La Pérouse observed no more than three canoes at the same place and foresaw that in the near future, through want of wood, there would be no canoes left on the island. Kotzebue reports only two canoes in 1816. Beechey (15, vol. 1, p. 40) says that "three canoes were noticed hauled up on the shore" in 1825. In 1838, Admiral du Petit-Thouars (65, vol. 2, p. 227) passed along La Pérouse Bay and received the visits of natives who came in five canoes. In each canoe were two men and a woman who "was crouching or lying on her breast so as not to be an obstacle to the movement of the craft or perhaps to give it more stability." He estimates at 12 the total number of canoes which he saw along the north and the west coasts.

James Hamilton, master of the *Prudence* who fought with the Easter

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CLOTHING

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Winter months are decidedly cold on Easter Island, and heavy clothing is welcome. Present natives suffer from the cold, and one wonders how they withstood the rainy season with the scanty clothing they wore before European garments were introduced. Since their first contact with Europeans, Easter Islanders have shown a great eagerness for clothes. A shirt or a pair of pants is more valuable to them than any other European article. Fifty years ago both Geiseler and Thomson remarked that for clothes the natives would part with anything. Though present natives rationalize this desire by the necessity for protection against cold, the source of this passion for clothes is vanity (81, vol. 38, pp. 68):

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> They do not care to cover themselves in order to get protection from heat or cold, but they want to show off. Therefore they dress themselves, they adorn themselves, they load themselves with anything which may be hung on one way or another. The man who can secure a gown wears it, two if he has two. The woman who obtains a pair of trousers, a jacket or coat combines them all as elegantly as possible.

Today most of the men wear navy uniforms and the women, who have great difficulty in obtaining clothes, wear parts of uniforms. In olden days, however, women were always more fully dressed than men. The supply of paper mulberry was small and the native garments, though fundamentally like those of eastern Polynesia, were neither as various nor as plentiful as on other islands. Cook found a good market on Easter Island for his Tahitian tapa.

[855]

Only children, the boys until twelve and the girls until nine years old, went naked. Though most of the early visitors state that the natives were naked, they generally add that the sexual organs were covered. Beechey (15, vol. 1, p. 53) infers that some islanders were entirely naked, but he remarks that the "larger portion however wear a maro, made either of fine Indian cloth of a reddish colour, of a wild kind of parsley, or of a species of sea weed." Easter Island men who boarded the ship of Admiral du Petit-Thouars wore only a string around the waist, but they swam to the ship and may have left their *maro* ashore.

Clothing for Men

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The most usual garment, especially for young men, was a bunch of grass (*mauku uta* or *mauku tai*), suspended from a string of women's hair which was the thickness of the little finger, and tied around the waist. This rudimentary garment is still remembered by the natives and was described by La Pérouse (130, vol. 1, p. 63). Many natives wore hanging from their belts, instead of the bunch of grass, a "kind of net work . . . too thin to conceal anything from sight" or a "small bit of cloth six or eight inches long" (83,

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natives for ornaments and especially for headdresses consisting of the most extraordinary things:

> Sometimes it was a hat decorated with buttons, a calabash, a half squash, or a sea bird whose carcass had been opened more or less carefully. One day I saw one of those fellows who had the funny idea of putting one bucket into another and covering his head with them. Another had found shoes left by the Peruvians. He had split them, joined them together and "shod" his head.

The immoderate fondness of the natives for headgear is well illustrated by the narratives of the first navigators who all complain about the loss of hats, which the natives coveted more than anything else. After a few hours ashore La Pérouse and his crew were hatless.

Today the Easter Islanders are still fond of headgear. Those who do not own European hats or caps of the Chilean navy, wear straw hats plaited by the women in a technique which was introduced from Tahiti about 1875. These straw hats, of European origin but adapted by the Tahitians, are made on Easter Island from narrow bands of plaited straw wound spirally and sewn together with needle and thread. They are often decorated with artificial flowers or chicken feathers. The style is the same for men and for women.

Formerly, men wore feather headdresses and women wore rush hats of a type entirely different from the modern ones. Some natives have been seen with wreaths of leaves or of dried seaweed on their heads. Even now one frequently sees a young girl with a wreath of leaves on her head worn more in fun than to adorn herself. Fifty years ago such decorations seem to have been more common. Geiseler (87, p. 35) mentions in his notes that "the young girls, besides other ornaments, wear daily green wreaths of leaves on their heads and flowers behind the ears, as in the Society Islands." A middle-aged native told me that women used to wear wreaths of sweet-smelling flowers from the *ngaoho* (*Caesalpinia bonduc*). I have seen young women plait the flowers of the *miro-tahiti* (*Melia azedarach*) and walk around proudly with heavy wreaths on their heads. The *miro-tahiti* is the only tree on the island which bears flowers that can be plucked for that purpose, and it has been introduced recently.

FEATHER HEADDRESSES

The feather headdresses of Easter Island preserved in European and American museums are of four types—circlets, diadems, crescents, and conical caps.

Circlets

Most of the early navigators who mention or describe feather headdresses refer to them as circlets, crowns, or diadems (186, p. 22; 90, p. 97; 53, vol. 1, p. 291; 15, p. 47). G. Forster (83, vol. 1, pp. 565-566) noticed that they were not all alike and he distinguished two kinds:

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continuous surface with the back part of the stage. The ahu is delimited on each side by a wall 30 meters long which slopes to the ground. The surface between the two parallel walls is paved with flat stones. On the platform once stood six statues, set on large flat slabs and surmounted by the red stone hats which now lie among the ruins. 346

The seaward wall of ahu Ohau is made of large rectangular slabs which are finely wrought and perfectly fitted. The salient, which protrudes 3 meters from the wings, is 10 meters long and 2.3 meters high. One wing is 16 meters long and the other 25.5 meters. The greatest width of the ahu measured from the center of the salient down the slope is 7 meters. The wings converge to a point. The landward face of the ahu has the appearance of a solid triangle.

Very close to ahu Ohau is another ahu, 12 meters long and 1.2 meters high in the salient. Three steps of unequal length lead up to the seaward face.

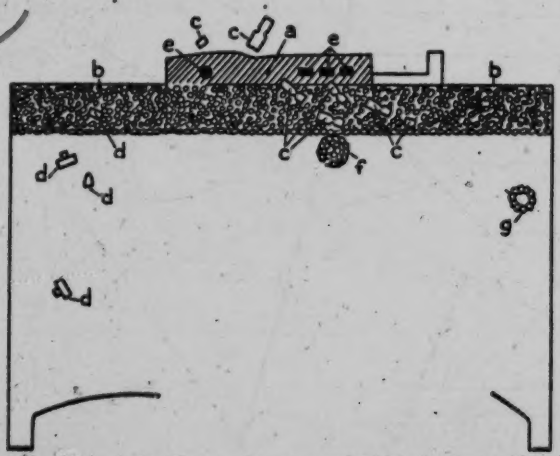

FIGURE 51.—Plan of ahu Hanga-o-honu: *a*, central platform on which statues are erected; *b*, wings of ahu; *c*, statues and fragments of statues; *d*, hats of statues; *e*, platforms for statues; *f*, circle for *paina*; *g*, tapu cairn (from Lavachery, 134, p. 157).

Skottsberg (208, vol. 1, p. 9; quoted in 153, p. 110) gives an accurate description of ahu Te Pito-te-kura near La Pérouse Bay.

Image ahus are mentioned by neither Roggeveen nor Gonzalez although Gonzalez, or some of his lieutenants, must have seen ahu Hanga-o-honu or ahu Mahatua on the way to the heights of Poike, where they set up their three crosses. Ahus are first described by Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 295) and by G. Forster (83, vol. 1, pp. 566-567). Both describe the ahus near Hanga-roa Bay which, being near the village, have suffered most from the destructiveness of both natives and white men. Ahu Hanga-roa, nearest the landing place, has been destroyed by Chilean authorities to make the present pier. From the material forming the structure of this jetty, one may see that the ahu was of good workmanship. [177]

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171 532 revan wooden images than between the wooden and stone images of Easter Island. Mangarevan images share with the Easter Island stone statues the typical pursed mouth, but the differences are numerous.

Balfour (9, pp. 361-371), overlooking the Mangarevan parallels, stresses the similarity between the Easter Island stone images and canoe-prow gods and other representations of human form from New Georgia, San Cristoval, and other parts of the Solomon Islands. The proposed analogy strikes me as unconvincing, for the only similarities between the two types of image are the overhanging brows and the long upward-curving nose.

Comparative studies of the religious structures in eastern and central Polynesia reveal a remarkable analogy between the position of the Easter Island statues on the ahus and the uprights on the religious platforms of the Tuamotus, Society Islands, and Necker Island. Detailed research has convinced Emory that the uprights at the back of Tuamotuan ahus, bearing the names of ancestors, were either backrests for the gods or memorials to deified ancestors. In the Tuamotus and in Tongareva the unrights were sometimes trimmed. In the Tuamotus the shaping is often a crude attempt to express the human form. On Necker Island the small stone images of the gods rested against the slabs set on the platform. Between a carved upright and a statue, transition is logical, and it seems to have taken place on Easter Island. The development of the slabs into statues was facilitated by some knowledge of carving which the Easter Islanders already possessed when they settled on their isolated island. On some Easter Island ahus, pillars take the place of statues. At Mataveri such a pillar has one surface carved like the back of a statue.

174 532 The first immigrants to Easter Island probably came from eastern Polynesia and were acquainted with the carving of human figures from wood. Lacking wood in their new home, they applied their skill to the Rano-raraku tuff which is more easily worked than stone. Stimulated by the abundance of tuff and the ease with which statues could be transported across the open country, they created larger and larger statues until stone carving reached there a development greater than in any other part of Polynesia.

RELIGION

177 791 Easter Island religion was more deeply affected by the several catastrophes which befell the people than any other phase of their culture. Roussel (190, p. 424) says that the downfall of the religion took place long before the arrival of the missionaries and that "there remained only a few tapus of which they made little ado" (190, p. 495). Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 128), in 1866, found no ceremony or religious cult in honor of any deity; the pre-missionary decadence of religious beliefs facilitated conversion to Christianity. Even the feasts had lost much of the ancient character, and had become "but

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entertainments and debauches with competitions between parties from the different bays" (230, vol. 6, p. 125). Eyraud (81, vol. 38, p. 69), who lived many years among the islanders, declares that he never saw any outward expression of religion. 177 771

Now that three generations have passed since the Christianization of the island, almost nothing is remembered about the beliefs and rites of paganism. My attempt to reconstruct some of the pattern of ancient religion rests on bits of evidence taken from several sources. These I checked as best I could.

GODS

Not even a summary classification of the ancient deities can be expected from present-day natives of Easter Island. The word *atua*, which formerly designated pagan deities is now applied to the Christian God. All supernatural beings are classified today under the name of *akuaku*, or more frequently *tatane* (derived from the French satan), or sometimes *varua* (from the Tahitian word meaning spirit). Though memory of the great Polynesian gods and heroes had faded, Routledge (194, p. 236) in 1915 obtained the names of about 90 *akuaku*, lesser gods or spirits. Now, even the old men remember only 30 names. 776

It is likely that the various lists of *akuaku* contain the names of gods who were worshipped by certain tribes or lineages and whose influence was restricted to a definite district; Makemake who, beyond any doubt, was the greatest functioning god of the island has been relegated by the pious natives to the file of *akuaku* or *tatane*.

Easter Island gods, like those everywhere in Polynesia, must have belonged to two classes. The first class included the great figures of creation and major gods like Tangaroa, Tu, and Rongo; the second class embraced an infinity of deities who ranged probably from the sons of the great gods to deified ancestors or simple spirits. The place of a god in one or the other of these two categories did not correspond to his actual importance in religion and in the sentiments of the worshipper. Makemake, who seems to have been the principal god of the islanders, does not figure in the pantheon of the major gods, though he has absorbed many an attribute or power originally invested in the major gods.

The gods of Easter Island, like other Polynesian gods, could be embodied in objects and animals. This power of incarnation is shown most clearly by the bird-man cult and by numerous representations of the god Makemake as a human being with a bird's head.

Major Gods

The most striking feature of Easter Island religion is the unimportance of the great gods and heroes of other Polynesian religions. Seldom is there a

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775 well. Actually one of us had carried it home. Tepano told me with the greatest seriousness that an *akuaku* had stolen his waistcoat with his watch and that he never found them again, although he was sure that nobody was near the place where he had left his clothes and where, he added, his cousin had died. Every man on the island will tell you that he has at some time met [177] an *akuaku*. Of course South American superstitions have influenced the natives and they see ghosts under the guise of the Christian devil, a black fellow with fiery eyes.

[825] The cats which roamed around our tents at night were considered spirits, and they were greatly feared. When their cries were heard too near or were too dismal, the terrified natives resorted to prayers and spent the night reading sacred books.

CREATION CHANT

533 A creation chant collected by Thomson in 1886 is supposed to give a list
539 of gods and goddesses who mated and produced most of the natural objects
773 known to natives. This chant was obtained from old Ure-vai-ko, who recited
776 it as the text of a tablet. Unfortunately the spelling of many native words is inaccurate and inconsistent. A translation made by Salmon is equally free, as he assumed that the procreators were all gods whose names were meaningless, and thus misunderstood the true nature of the chant. The text given here is based on Thomson's and corrected by natives, but many verses are not intelligible.

Atua-matariri ki ai ki roto ki a te Poro, ka pu te poporo.

Himahima-marao ki ai ki roto te Kihitupu-henua, ka pu te kihihi.

A Oevai ki ai ki roto Kava-kohe-kohe, ka pu te kohe.

Matua-anua ki ai ki roto ki a Pipiri-hai-tau, ka pu te miro.

A Ngingi-e-ai ki ai ki roto ki a Humu-toti, ka pu te mahute.

He Ti ki ai ki roto ki a he Ta, ka pu te ti.

A Tura ki ai ki roto ki a Tei, ka pu te mauku-uta.

A Hau [or Heu] ki ai ki roto Vava, ka pu te turéme.

A he Kai ki ai ki roto He Peue, ka pu te mataa.

Viri-koue ki ai ki roto Aringa-reheuru-arero, ka pu te rona.

God-of-the-angry-look by copulating with Roundness (?) produced the *poporo* (*Solanum nigrum*).

Himahima-marao by copulating with Lichen-growing-on-the-soil produced the lichen.

Oevai (?) by copulating with Fern produced the fern.

The Parent-mother by copulating with Pipiri-hai-tau produced wood.

Dryness by copulating with Humu-toti (Tattooing-of-the-leg) produced the paper mulberry.

Ti by copulating with Ta [Tattooing] produced the ti.

Elevation (?) by copulating with Highness produced the inland-grass.

Hau tree by copulating with Vava (?) produced the *tureme* (*Dichelachne sciurea*).

Sharpness by copulating with Adz produced obsidian.

Twining by copulating with Beautiful-face-with-penetrating-tongue produced the morning-glory plant.

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
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Sham Battles

The sham battle was one of the favorite entertainments of children. Divided into two sides, they threw at each other spears tipped by pieces of gourd shell in the shape of obsidian points (*tasa pahera*). Legend states that children frequently discovered and substituted obsidian points for their harmless spear points (p. 376). Sham battles (*tuna*) in which either adults or children threw stones was another form of training for wars.

At feast gatherings, young men displayed their athletic skill in running, spear throwing, and other feats of dexterity (215, p. 468).

Throwing Game

Knoche (123, p. 202), describes a throwing game which was probably introduced from Tahiti or Mangareva. I never saw the game and the islanders never mentioned it to me.

A small groove 150 mm. long is traced on level ground. Across the groove they put a little stick 50 mm. long. The players have thin sticks 550 mm. long that they introduce under the small one to throw it as far as possible. The winner is the man who throws the piece of wood farthest.

Top Spinning

Spinning tops (*makoi*) were popular toys. They varied in type according to materials used. The most common top was a capsule of the *makoi* (probably *Thespesia populnea*), pierced through the middle by a round pin with two sharp, fire-hardened points. *Makoi-oone* were made of a clay found in craters. Children mixed it with water and sugar cane juice and left it to bake in the sun. A clay top is preserved in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna (22838). It is a hard, red clay ball, 28 mm. in diameter with a wooden handle 135 mm. long inserted through it. This object is listed in the catalog as a tattooing hammer, but its form makes such a use very unlikely.

Stone tops are said to have been large and were thrown without the use of a string into a stone basin, where they kept spinning for a long time. While the tops were spinning, children used to sing the following song:

Kanini te makoi nau opata.	Spin the top [made of *makoi* capsules] from the cliff.
Ka tuu te makoi miro rakerake;	The wooden top does not stand up well;
Kanini koe te makoi oone o te Rano-kao.	Spin the top made of the clay of the Rano-kao.

Kite Flying

Kites, called *manu hakarere* (flying birds), were made of tapa cloth and the head of a bird was painted on each of them. They were flown by children.

1: Metraux · E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
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String Figures

524 Only thirty string figures (*kaikai*)[10] are remembered. The only woman
533 who knew them all was Amelia, the daughter of Tepano, who learned them from her father when she was a little girl. He had meanwhile forgotten them. A few simple string figures were more widely known. Each figure has a special chant which accompanies it. These chants are very popular though most people do not understand their meanings and are generally unable to make the corresponding string figures. All named string figures supposedly represent some object—part of the body (hair, penis), a spearhead (*mata*), a mat, an ahu with stone images, a bay, and so on; some represent characters in a legend, and the accompanying chants are narrated as if spoken by the character at a critical moment.

524 The natives state that string figures were used to memorize popular chants
533 and to recall tales. I was told that children were taught to make them and were obliged to memorize the accompanying chants before they were in-
867 structed in the sacred lore of the tribe and the art of carving tablets. A few
177 string figures with chants have been introduced recently from Tahiti. Their foreign origin was always pointed out by the natives.

Introduced Toys

524 Bows and arrows were introduced as toys either by Father Roussel or by
● 177 Easter Islanders returning from Tahiti. The natives call them by a Tahitian name (*fana*) and consider them quite modern. The islanders were acquainted
526 with slings only after their contact with Tahitians. Father Roussel is said to have taught the children to jump rope.

Gambling

525 The men of the island are passionate gamblers. They play mostly Chilean card games or gamble with pieces of money following the rules of a widespread South American game. Islanders gamble most at the end of the shearing season when they have been paid by the English Company.

MUSIC AND POETRY

Instruments

534 Before contact with Europeans the Easter Islanders had only two musical instruments, the percussion plate and the shell trumpet (*pu*). Existence of the shell trumpet is attested only by Beechey (15, vol. 1, p. 48). The name *pu* is included in the early Easter Island vocabularies, though the present natives assert that it was introduced from Tahiti. A stone with a hole in it

[10] Twenty-eight original string figures have been collected and will be published separately with their corresponding chants.

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
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In this third chant the girl is compared to a fish whose fins are the girl's topknot. 533 539

E mau koe i te mate o te manava	You are sick with love
E tupa ki raro ki Ahu Akurenga.	You are a crab that lives below at Ahu Akurenga.
E ika tuatua pukao.	You are a fish with topknot.
Mo raro k[illegible]	You go down,
E ika, uka hoa e.	O fish, you are my girl friend.
Mo toro-miro tae hahati	For a *toro-miro* tree that cannot break
Hare-pepe[m] a matua vaai a	Seaweed of the parent separated by
Toka roaroa.	The long rock.

A married girl who is shut in the house of her father-in-law and wants to escape to meet her lover, sings the following song:

E Manu e, ka pari mai toto	O Manu, my blood oozes
Hare keri ena aaku i te po, e Manu e.	When I dig under the house, O Manu.
E au tae kai i te kumara	I do not eat the sweet potatoes
O tau korohua nei ko, Maea-te-renga.	Of this old man, Maea-te-renga.

The earliest literary allusion to singing in Easter Island is that by Beechey (15, vol. 1, p. 46). He describes a group of women gathered near the landing place who sang and made gestures of welcome. Eyraud describes briefly the singing at an *areauti* feast (p. 350). Loti (146, p. 28) gives the following poetical description of Easter Island music: 533

> They sing, the Maoris; they all sing beating their hands as if they were making a dance rhythm. The women utter notes as soft and fluty as those of birds. The men sometimes make small falsetto voices, thin, quavering, and shrill. Sometimes they produce cavernous sounds like the roars of enraged wild animals. Their music is made of short and jerky phrases, ending in gloomy vocalizations descending in minor tones. They seem to express the surprise of being alive and also the sadness of life. Notwithstanding, they sing in joy, in the childish joy of seeing us, in the pleasure of the small new things we bring them.

Less charming, but certainly more reliable, is the description given by Geiseler (87, p. 40):

> Great attention is paid to singing. Their singing has three parts with a sounding bass. They have a great many beautiful songs which sound quite nicely in this language abundant in vowels, although produced in the monotonous Polynesian way. Apart from game, dance, and love songs they have also chants for the dead, for the dying or wounded people. The principal characteristic of these songs is the deep bass. These songs are sung in a sitting posture with legs bent underneath. They have a leader who gives the pitch. At the beginning of each chant they accord their voices to a sort of scale so that they may appreciate the purity and the unison of the voices. The songs are accompanied with movements of legs and feet which are very lively.

At the time Geiseler visited the island, the natives had been subjected to missionary influence for a long time and had already learned all the splendid Tahitian *himene* which they still sing. The songs Geiseler collected are still 533 177

[m] *Hare-pepe*: seaweed in which fish are abundant, especially the *uhi*.

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
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533 known and do not seem to be very ancient. He obtained some recitations
177 associated with string figures and one love song.

The present-day natives are very fond of singing. Their musical lore is abundant, though most of the songs are of Tahitian or Chilean origin. They pick up melodies quickly from seamen. Hymns taught them by missionaries have been transmitted through two and even three generations without the slightest change. These hymns consist of European motifs modified by Tahitian influence. Sophia Hei and another woman have a singing school where the girls gather twice a week to practice hymns for Sunday mass. The native choirs are well trained and sing in perfect harmony.

[795 868]

533 The few old songs which are still remembered are sung while sitting on the heels, and the measure is marked by the balancing of the body from one side to the other. The word *rutua* means singing in choir or marking the cadence. In church the women singers squat on the floor. The voice of the leader, who always starts the song, is heard quite distinctly above those of the other singers. I heard the native songs only at church or when especially requested.

In days gone by the natives sang during feasts, and at the time of the
533 changing moon they used to dance and sing in the evening and late into the
535 night. As proof of their ability to improvise short musical pieces I transcribe
539 here a song composed by Maria Ika, my informant's wife, on the occasion of the transporting of the stone image which is at present in the Museum of the Cinquantenaire in Belgium.

Ka totoi ia ahu Orongo,	They have been hauling from the ahu Orongo,
Ka totoi ia ahu Orongo,	They have been hauling from the ahu Orongo,
Ka totoi a te hanga tomo	They hauled those who landed at the bay
Reka hiva e roou korua	The joyous foreigners you take care
A Hanga-one-one mo mau,	Of Hanga-one-one to carry it,
Mo hata i runga i te ahu	To put it on an ahu
Ui uka o te Peretia.	Where the Belgian girls will see it.

Short compositions which describe the cause of a feast or in some way
533 allude to it are still sung by the natives. To celebrate the arrival of the
539 Chilean training ship *Baquedano* a few years ago, the natives had a feast at which they sang the following song, contrasting the stinginess of the crew of the *Araucano*, another Chilean ship, with the more generous behavior of the crew of the *Baquedano*.

E rake rake te *Araukano*,	The *Araukano* is bad,
Te nehenehe te *Baquedano*.	The *Baquedano* is good.

Some 20 years ago the natives composed a song in honor of Edmunds, former manager of the Williamson-Balfour Company, whose native nickname was Moni-hiva. The song is still popular.

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533
539

E te Moni-hiva, Moni-hiva,	O Moni-hiva, Moni-hiva,
I tomo ai kia Roa e,	He landed at Hanga-roa,
Te Moni-hiva-arenga e.	O Moni-hiva-arenga.

Estella (79, p. 78) collected five Easter Island songs which are still known by most of the natives. Dr. E. G. Burrows, specialist in Polynesian music, after examining them for me, concludes that these songs are modern Tahitian. Three of the five have a range of one octave, which is possible in what he considers pure Polynesian music but rare, especially in eastern Polynesia. Though none of these songs have a complete European scale, the tonality seems nearer European than Polynesian. None has the characteristic Polynesian emphasis on one principal tone. In rhythm there are some departures from the regular meter of simple European music. This feature is probably Polynesian, for Tahitian *ute* have similar rhythms. 533

No genuine Easter Island music has been recorded. Admiral Byrd made some records of the local music during his short stay on the island. Unfortunately he asked only the young people to sing, and they knew only Tahitian or Chilean songs. Burrows has heard these records and states that the songs were Europeanized either by way of Tahiti or of Chile.

DANCES

One-foot Dances

Admiral Du Petit-Thouars (65, vol. 2, p. 230) mentions a hopping dance performed by a few natives who climbed on board the *Venus* and danced to amuse the seamen. The same dance was observed by Geiseler (87, p. 41) in 1886: 535

> The dances are different from the usual Polynesian type. While in Samoa they sit and swing their hips, making movements with the arms, here they stay on one foot and extend the other by jerks following exactly the rhythm of the song. From the movement it could be inferred that the so-called recreational dances were quite immoral.

A modified form of this dance, called *upoupa*, still survives and is very popular among the natives. It is always danced by couples who hold each other by the hand and hop first on one foot, then on the other. After hopping thus for a time, they change hands, the man turns in the opposite direction, and both continue circular hopping movements. Sometimes the partners face each other, hopping continuously on one foot. Nowadays the dance has a European character, and the natives told me that it had been taught to them by a French sailor who had been shipwrecked on the island. Twenty-five years ago the natives performed this dance in a more traditional style, as we may infer from a quotation of Knoche (123, p. 202): "The Katenga is a very obscene dance in which a file of men stand opposite a file of women. The dance consists of jumps on one foot with flexed knee. The bodies are turned alternately to one side and then to the other." [177]

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NOTES ON THE PRESENT-DAY EASTER ISLANDERS

EDWIN N. FERDON, JR.

EASTER ISLAND, or Rapa-nui, is one of the most isolated high islands in all of Polynesia, being approximately 2,100 miles west of Chile and 1,100 miles east of Pitcairn, the nearest inhabited island to the west. Discovered by Roggeveen in 1722 and visited during the 18th and 19th centuries by such well known Pacific explorers as Cook, La Pérouse, and Beechy, its extreme isolation, tree-barren slopes, and, quite possibly, its lack of good anchorage kept European contact to a minimum. Even today regular contact with the outside world is an annual affair conducted by the Chilean Navy. For years the island was virtually ignored, except for some Catholic missionaries, until Chile, in 1888, took formal possession. Easter Island has, however, never been truly occupied by Chile in the sense of maintaining a permanent settlement of continentals. In time Chile came to lease over four-fifths of the island to a British wool-growing company, and the natives were relegated to the remainder of the land around Hangaroa village. This commercial arrangement continued until 1934 when the government refused to renew the lease and turned over the running of the island, including the sheep ranch, to its Navy personnel.

As a result of the lack of interest in colonization, and the development of ranching interests, the island's foreign population has been kept small. In 1917 there were twenty-one Whites on the island, in 1922 only six, in 1934 thirteen, and today about 30.[1] Except for the church, and the founding of a regular government school in 1934,[2] there appears to have been little intentional effort to convert the natives to Chilean culture. However, owing to the legally enforced requirement that the British wool company maintain a store with such native necessities as cloth, clothing, and various tools and equipment, the islanders came to depend more and more upon the annual shipment of these Chilean products, and less and less upon their environmentally impoverished homecraft manufactures. Owing in part to this situation, acculturation has moved steadily forward on the material culture level and, because it is readily observable, has tended to mask any lags that may exist in the social and psychological patterning of Rapa-nui culture.

1 I. Dropkin, *Contribution to the Demographic Study of Easter Island* (Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Occasional Papers, vol. 11, no. 12, p. 4, Honolulu, 1935).

2 *Idem*, p. 7.

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177 Today one's initial contact with Easter Island natives and their village of Hangaroa creates the definite illusion that here acculturation toward a Chilean pattern approaches completion and it is only a question of the government's passing the necessary laws to give them the right to vote until final absorption will be well on its way. Such traits as European style frame or cement-walled houses with corrugated-tin roofs, the full acceptance of the riding aspect of horse culture, the occasional use of ox carts and ox-drawn plows, and the complete acceptance of European style clothing, including well polished shoes on Sunday, reflect a more rural Continental setting than a Polynesian-inhabited island in the Pacific. Contacting the Chilean officials, one soon meets their native aides: mechanics who can take a Jeep apart and put it together again; a machinist renowned for fixing the most delicate wrist watches on the island; a budding meteorologist who, for the past two years, has been one of the instrument observers at the Chilean Air Force meteorological station. These are, to be sure, extreme cases, often representing men who have been sent to Chile for advanced education or who have made a living on the continent for several years. However, they fit so well into the observed modification toward Chilean culture that their somewhat extreme positions in the acculturation pattern are not readily apparent. Certainly Easter Island, [105] seen from an archaeologist's point of view, i.e., from the material culture evidence, presents a picture in 1956 of a dominantly Europeanized culture with a minor lag showing up in such things as the continued use of adzes, now made of steel, a customarily separate kitchen in the family architectural layout, a continued use of certain Polynesian foods, and a highly developed woodcarving tradition obviously kept alive by the products' salability to the tourists during their annual invasion of the island.

121 During the five month excavation season of the Norwegian Archaeological Expedition to Easter Island, no time was available for an intensive study of Rapanui culture as it is today. However, through director Thor Heyerdahl's interest in aiding the islanders' economy by using them wherever possible, opportunity was made available to the archaeologists to gather ethnographic data. During my 115 excavation of various sites on the volcano of Rano Kao I employed four Easter 124 Islanders: Jorge Tepano, Roberto Tepano, Juan Atan, and Rafael Roe. These men, perforce, served as my informants, the periods of "interview" consisting of directed conversations while riding up the volcano to work, during the lunch hour, and again during the afternoon descent. These were occasionally supplemented by specific appointments, usually with Jorge Tepano, the most knowledgeable of the four. There was no time nor opportunity to cross-check my information with natives other than my four workers, so that the data presented below are

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not as complete as they might be, and may tend to be weighted in that all four men were related in one way or another. However this paper, and one on trading techniques which I hope to publish at a future date, show quite clearly that advanced acculturation on the island is, for the most part, only material culture deep and has as yet penetrated only sporadically into the social organization of the people.

BIRTH

Except for a ceremony at the birth of a first child, there appears to be no regularized ritual for births as such. At the present moment an expectant mother either goes to the Naval-run hospital for delivery, or stays at home where her child is delivered with the aid of a midwife. I could learn of no pre-natal or post-parture taboos enforced on either the parents or the child. The rubbing of a fine red iron oxide powder into the baby's navel may have once had ceremonial significance but is now explained as merely an aid in the drying up of the umbilical cord.

It is apparently only the first child, especially a boy child, whose birth is fraught with a danger that must be assuaged by ceremony. Once the ceremony has been completed, however, a time for general celebration and feasting is immediately at hand.

Upon the occasion of the first birth to a married couple the father-in-law of the child's mother immediately prepares a small *umu*, i.e., a meal prepared in a pit oven, which is allowed to cook through the night. At the break of dawn on the following day the immediate families of both the child's parents open the *umu* but do not touch the inclosed food until the new mother has first partaken of it to "bring luck to her baby." After she has eaten this token meal, these relatives finish this initial *umu* and immediately begin preparations for a large *umu* feast for their friends and relatives in celebration of the birth. As with the inter-familial exchange of gifts at the time of a wedding, the respective families of the new parents each prepare their own *umu* and, upon its completion, present it to the opposite family, after which both meals are pooled for the general feasting of friends and relatives. Since such a feast may have to provide for a large portion of the population, each member of the extended family may be called upon to furnish a quantity of food in the form of chickens, eggs, *camotes* or sweet potatoes, etc. Even friends may be called upon and "if they have food beyond their needs they will give to the *umu*." Each friend or relative coming to the feast brings with him, or her, a small *umu* gift for the new mother. This usually consists of a small, wrapped bundle containing chicken or, perhaps, *camote*. It was never made

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852 completely clear to me if these small gifts had to be cooked in a pit oven, or *umu*,
[431] or whether they were simply cooked food brought to this celebration, though I am inclined to feel that, considering the first ceremonial *umu*, they were probably especially prepared in a pit oven.

●177 According to Jorge and Roberto, this ceremony is occasionally still performed
431 as above but is gradually being supplanted by a modified version. This new pattern
852 is best described by Jorge's plans for the celebration of a forthcoming first birth in the family of one of his recently married sons. Jorge explained that, upon the birth of the child, he would make a "table" of gifts for his son's father-in-law, and the father-in-law, in turn, would make a gift table for Jorge. These they would exchange at a party, and the exchanged gifts would then be distributed among the
[574] relatives of each father-in-law. The party, rather than being the traditional *umu*, would be a time when a little wine or liquor was served to the guests, and all would sing and dance during the evening. Whether or not Jorge would prepare the small *umu* for the first eating by the new mother could not be learned. Considering,
[114] however, that the Easter Islanders would feel that Chileans, and therefore all foreigners, would ridicule such a rite as superstitious, it is possible that Jorge's diffidence on the matter actually reflected a plan to carry out such a ritual, the fear of overt or covert ridicule on my part, however, forbidding his admitting it.

858 Although the sex of the first born does not appear to change the initial *umu* ceremony, there is ample evidence that the first born boy, whether or not he is the first child, not only stands in a special relationship to his father but to the powers of the supernatural world as well. From the day of his birth he is seen as being in a "very delicate" situation, to the extent that he is more easily subject to death than are his sisters and later born brothers. Owing to this situation he is treated in a special manner, is continually watched over, and is never allowed to go near such dangerous places as a rough beach or a high cliff. This delicate situation may continue for many years and can only be dissipated, and then completely, upon the death of one of his brothers. Thus, the death of any one of the brothers (of a first born son) liberates the earliest born forever from his close companionship with death, and he is henceforth allowed to travel at will and carries no restrictions, except where his father is concerned.

593 Throughout life the first born son and his father must carefully observe certain
784 taboos in relation to one another. Neither, for example, may cut the other's hair,
858 for to do so would bring bad luck to the one whose hair was cut. Should the father get sick, the son must not approach him, since to do this would cause the father's death. The reverse is true in the event of illness befalling the first born son. No such taboos appear to hold for the parent-sib relationship of the other children of the family. This special relationship of the father and his first born son was de-

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scribed by Jorge as follows: the father is the head *(mayor)* of the family while the first born son is the head of the children, thus the father and the first born son must stand in special relationship to one another and to the total family.

ADOLESCENCE

There are no formal puberty rites existing on the island today, but the period at which a boy is said to become a man is reasonably well fixed in the minds of the people. According to Jorge and Roberto, in earlier days a boy did not become a man, nor did he do a man's work, until he reached the age of twenty, his time being occupied until then in play and fun. Today, however, most native children go to the Chilean-run school from the ages of nine until twelve, after which the boys, at least, are expected to start doing some work. Thus, when Juan Atan's wife became ill and he was unable to come to work, he sent his thirteen year old son to take his place. Although doing a full day's work at a man's job, this youth was consistently referred to as a *poki*, or boy. Some indication of when he would be regarded as a man was presented on the job one day. My workmen caught the boy examining one of the many pictographs at Orongo called *komari*, which stylistically depict a vulva. The men immediately began to joke him terrifically, and during the joking Jorge turned to me and remarked, "He will be ready for that in another two years." From this, it would appear that fifteen years of age may be taken as the approximate age for a young man to enter into mature sex relations and, in general, become a man.

Further evidence along this line was brought forward during a discussion of who could, or could not, vote in the election of the three natives who stand as representatives of the people before the governor of the island. Among the natives there was no fixed age at which a person could vote, the consistent theme being that one could vote when one became a man. Asked if the Atan youth could vote, they informed me that he could not as he was still a *poki*. It was only after considerable questioning and discussion that my workers came to the conclusion that a person of approximately fifteen or sixteen years of age had reached the age of manhood and had the right to vote. An approximately similar age for womanhood appears to hold for girls, as well. At least a search of the government population records showed the earliest age for the marriage of girls was fifteen.

COURTING

Unmarried girls from about fourteen or fifteen onward are given complete sexual freedom which does not begin and end with a possible suitor but is maintained with any passing boy friend. Such relationships are taken quite as casually

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[583] 585 [177] great majority follow a formalized pattern. At the present time two Chilean-derived marriage ceremonies take place, a civil marriage on a Saturday and a Catholic church marriage on Sunday. However it is on Saturday, after the civil wedding, that the bridegroom's father gives a large feast for both of the extended families involved in the match. It is at this time that the gifts received by the bride's and bridegroom's fathers are formally distributed among their respective families. [583] To aid in this division of the spoils, a "secretary" is appointed to see that each relative receives a gift of value proportionate to the one he originally gave to the gift exchange. All my informants agreed that the marriage gift-exchange ceremony is a period of great and jovial rivalry to see which family has given the biggest and most valuable gifts.

On Sunday evening after the church wedding a general party for the couple is given, and it is at this time that the bridegroom sings a specially composed song [533] to his bride and she, in turn, sings her special song to him, each going to the other's house for the purpose. It is the best of these songs that have been maintained on Easter Island and today compose the more modern corpus of true Easter Island songs.

591 439 648 135 342 Upon the marriage of a young couple they are free to live in the home of either of their parents, or they may build a home of their own. Actually, living with one or another of the parents is a virtual necessity, owing to the fact that all building materials are brought from the continent once a year by the Chilean Navy and the supply has never caught up with the demand. Further hindering construction is the government's rationing system which, though abundantly fair, allows no single [596] family to buy in one year all the material needed to build a home. This system has resulted in the development, or maintenance, of an extended family pooling system in which, if the family is large enough and each draws his rightful ration of building materials, a house can often be built from the total extended family allotment for a single year. It might also be mentioned that in the construction of such a house, any, or all, of the extended family may be called upon for aid.

423 648 Although the building of a house is a problem, a young couple as yet has no difficulty in obtaining land. At the present time the Chilean government allots the use-rights to five hectarias of terrain to each newly married couple. Formerly an Easter Islander could own his land outright, but this is no longer true, the Chilean government retaining title to all land, owing, apparently, to the strategic nature of the island in the event of war.

606 One of the more interesting facets of Easter Island marriage is the position of the father-in-law in the life of the married couple. Of the two male parents-in-law, it is the girl's father who appears to hold the dominant position of power in the

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584 in-law as a gift. The father-in-law accepts the gift and immediately gives a rooster
574 to each of his brothers and sisters. If one of his brothers has given a feast in his
431 honor,[6] he will then take the remainder of the string of birds and drape it over
[606] the neck of this particular brother. In doing this he gives the brother the honor of starting the apportioning of the roosters among the members of the extended family. The brother so honored takes the roosters and gives them to his wife who, after taking one herself, passes the string down through the relatives until each has one of the birds. In this act the brother has, in effect, been given the same honor as that of the "secretary," or *motuha*, who distributes the gifts at the time of a wedding.

174 The strong position of a wife's father may hark back to an earlier custom
584 whereby a mother or father, noting a hard-working bachelor with a good planta-
606 tion of yams, *camote*, sugar cane, etc., presented their daughter to the man for
581 his acceptance or rejection. Neither the desires of the daughter nor the age of the bachelor in relation to the girl's was considered.

584 The operation of such a marriage was described as follows. Noting a hard-working bachelor and seeing in him an opportunity for a "wealthy" marriage for their daughter, the father of the girl would either send his daughter to the man, or more commonly, take her to the bachelor's home. Upon entering the house, the father would ask, "Where are you?" and the bachelor would answer, "Here I am," whereupon the father would leave the girl in the house and say, "Here." If the bachelor accepted the girl he immediately went outside and gathered together chickens, yams, *camotes*, and other foods to make a big *umu* feast for the
[586] girl's father. However, if at some future date the girl's father felt that his daughter's husband was no longer working hard in his fields or at fishing, he had the right to come and take her away and give her to some other man. In extreme cases a girl was allowed to leave her husband and return home.

177 Today such forced marriages no longer exist, but a father may counsel his
584 daughter to marry some hard-working bachelor of his choice. If she refuses he will wait awhile and again counsel her, repeating this advice until she marries the man. As one of my informants put it, "He will keep counseling her until the idea
[581] and the advantages of such a marriage are well in her head." In such marriages one interesting change has been made. No daughter is "counseled" into a marriage with a man too much older than she, for, "See how much older brothers fight with their too young sisters — it is the same with such a marriage."

6 Presumably this refers to a *horo*, although according to Métraux such feasts honoring a brother were not common.

2:Ferdon A-5 (1956) 1957
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DIVORCE

Island marriage appears to be a firmer institution today than it was in the not-too-distant past. This is in part due to Chilean governmental authority backing the church in its taboo against divorce. When divorces do occur, they tend to follow the early Polynesian custom of an unceremonious departure of one of the mates. Owing to the island's government frowning upon such action, and its active interest in making the natives understand that the question of divorce is a legal matter, the Easter Islander's attitude toward divorce is at present in a state of flux.

Jorge Tepano reflected the church and governmental attitude when, in discussing the problem, he took the firm stand that divorce could only be obtained on the basis of adultery and that it was for the governor, in his capacity of judge, to determine who was the guilty party and to make a property settlement on the basis of existing Chilean laws. However, this strongly acculturated view is not necessarily adhered to most commonly. Governor Curti informed me of the marriage of a forty-five year old native to a girl of seventeen. This man built a home alongside that of the girl's parents in an effort to make her comfortable, but the girl refused to live with him in the new house. Becoming angry, he tore the house down and put it up on his own parcel of land, demanding that the girl come to live with him. She again refused, and the matter was taken before the governor. There apparently is no law that specifically demands that a wife live with her husband or, if it exists, it is unenforceable on the island. After various attempts at persuasion, the governor used his prerogative of turning over the woman's ration allowance of foods and dry goods to her husband, but when I left the island this action had had no effect upon the woman, her own family having taken up the burden of supporting her. Officially, as long as the girl did not legally marry again, her action could only be looked upon as a separation, though in native eyes it constitutes a divorce in the old style and is accepted as such. Whereas marriages solemnized by civil and religious ceremonies run into legal difficulties in the event of a divorce, common law marriages appear not to have this difficulty, in spite of the fact that, though legally not recognized, they are tacitly accepted officially to the extent that in the island's rationing lists such illegal matches are listed as family units.

DEATH

The Easter Islander appears to have no personal fear of death and, for the most part, looks upon it from a rather fatalistic point of view. A notable exception to this is seen in his superstitious attitude toward Rongo Rongo caves, whose

2:Ferdon A-5 (1956) 1957
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761 tablets are guarded by "devils" that will, in extreme cases, kill a man who stumbles
[776] upon such a cave and steals one of the tablets.

177 I had no time nor opportunity to delve into any beliefs that might exist regard-
775 ing what happens to a person after death, but I suspect that here the church has
764 made deep inroads, for the dead are now given the last rites of the church and then buried in a Catholic cemetery.

177 Immediately upon the death of an individual a certain amount of grief will be
764 shown by the immediate kin, but this appears to be more the result of natural
797 shock than of any culturally determined mourning pattern. Between the time of death and the holding of last rites, the body is kept on view in the victim's house, after which it is carried in its coffin to the church where the last rites are administered by the island's priest. As the body is carried from the church to the cemetery
[533] the cortege breaks into song. Some of these are of the slow, religious type, but many have an almost gay lilt. During and after the church services there is no overt expression of mourning on the part of the nearest kin, but as the casket is lowered into the ground a near-hysteria of grief breaks out among the closest relatives of the deceased and is explained by my informants on the basis that this is the final separation from a beloved one.

174 Since, as appears to be the case, the strongest impact of death comes with the
177 physical parting of the dead from the living, one cannot help but wonder if this
764 final show of extreme mourning is a direct result of the more abrupt practices of Christian religion rather than an Easter Island trait of long standing. It was not, after all, many years ago that burial exposure was practiced: by this method, at least the fleshy parts of the body disappear slowly over a length of time — it is only after the bones are left that final burial takes place in a tomb, usually a surface stone structure or a vault within the platform of an *ahu*. The change from a long drawn out physical relationship with the body to a sudden disappearance of a body in a pit, and the change from customary surface burial to sub-surface interment must have required considerable psychological adjustment. Today's overt manifestation of extreme grief as the body is lowered into the ground may, therefore, indicate that this adjustment to a new burial practice is not complete. On the other hand it may, perhaps, reflect a mourning pattern formerly used when the fleshless bones were given their final resting place.

765 During the evening of the day of burial the family of the deceased gives a large *umu* feast, often including music and dancing, for all visitors. At this time there are certain taboos with regard to the eating of the *umu* food by the immediate family. Thus, if a father dies neither his brothers and sisters, his children, nor his wife may partake of the food thus prepared. If a child has died neither

2:Fordon A-5 (1956) 1957
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

of the parents nor the dead child's brothers and sisters may eat the food. Juan Atan explained this taboo by saying that the *umu* was the dead man's body and, should the immediate family eat it, something bad would happen to the entire extended family. He further explained that such an *umu* must be given by the family, otherwise something terrible would happen to them.

Viewing the *umu* as part of the dead man's body may represent an adoption from the church's taking of the sacrament, yet, considering the earlier practice of cannibalism on the island, such a view may hark back to pre-Christian times.

Originally such a death feast was held on the day of death, but its celebration so irked Father Estella that some years ago he condemned the practice and the natives agreed to hold it on the day after death. It now appears that this has been further modified so that it is held on the day of burial.

STABILITY AND CHANGE

The information reported here is admittedly incomplete. Be this as it may, the data, when compared with Métraux's account of ancient life cycle customs on Easter Island, shows a surprising number of carry-overs into modern times.[7] In the course of our work we have also gathered heretofore unreported information on Rapa-nui customs which seem to be indigenous and of some antiquity, notably the delicate situation of the first born son and his relationship with his father, and the position of authority of the parents-in-law of a married couple.

The foremost changes in the life-cycle segment of the social pattern are to be noted in that sector which would most interest the church. Since the Catholic church represents the earliest and most prolonged actively acculturating influence on the island, this is wholly expectable. In the realm of marriage, for example, the church has been included, rather than substituted, in that to the simple rite of marriage involving consent of both families, gift exchange, and marriage feast, the church ritual has been added. Interestingly enough, the church appears to have had little effect upon the indigenous concept of divorce which, until very recently, continued to be an unceremonious splitting up of a husband and wife relationship upon the slightest provocation. Here, however, the government has stepped in and, through attempted Naval enforcement of Chilean divorce laws, has introduced a change in the native idea of divorce to where it now involves the factors of blame and division of community property. For those who have not yet accepted this foreign concept, the old method of divorce has met with such troublesome difficul-

7 Alfred Métraux, *Ethnology of Easter Island* (Bulletin 160, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, pp. 101-119, Honolulu, 1940).

2:Ferdon A-5 (1956) 1957
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ties from the island's administrators that its incidence in the past few years is said to have dropped noticeably.

It is in the matter of death and burial ritual that the church has shown a strong influence amounting to almost complete substitution of foreign for indigenous custom. However, the ancient feast formerly held on the day of death continues to be celebrated, along with the enforcement of certain eating taboos on the members of the deceased's family. The only influence the church has had on this celebration is to change its time to the day of burial. Whereas most of the natives are now seemingly content to have their deceased relatives go through the church ritual and be buried in the Catholic cemetery, I gathered a number of contemporary accounts of elderly men who, becoming ill, have gone to a secret cave to die. During our visit one old man became sick and disappeared from the village for almost two weeks. Since he worked for the sheep ranch, the administration attempted to find out where he had gone and what had happened to him. Considerable questioning brought forth the same answer, that the old man believed he was about to die and had probably gone to his secret cave.[8] In time he returned, well and healthy, but remained completely vague as to where he had been during his absence. As for the burial of the dead in ancient *ahus*, a secretly practiced custom in 1880,[9] I could learn nothing and, from all indications, this practice has ceased.

Beside the government's influence in lowering the incidence of divorce, it has been responsible in no small degree for a certain amount of change in the early sector of the life cycle. Thus, with the presence of a Naval-controlled hospital, doctor, and midwife, it must be presumed that much of the ancient practice surrounding the delivery of a baby, including the method of tying and severing the umbilical cord, has given way to more modern medical practices. However, it is interesting to note that the early custom of smearing red ocher into the umbilical wound continues up to the present time, along with the ceremonial *umu* given by the father's family to that of the mother, and at which time the mother must still eat the first food.[10] In this connection it should be noted that, while Métraux refers to this *umu* as a feast, my own informants seemed to regard it more as a ceremonial partaking of food.[11] That such may be the case is further strengthened by their description of an immediately following feast for friends and relatives in celebration of the first born child. The latter is not recorded by Métraux and

8 For an unsuccessful attempt at self-interment in a secret cave in 1922, see P. Sebastian Englert, *La Tierra de Hotu Matu'a* (Santiago, 1948), p. 52.

9 Métraux, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

10 *Idem*, pp. 102-108.

11 *Idem*, p. 103.

2:Ferdon A-5 (1956) 1957
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may constitute an innovation. However, it is so typically Rapa-nui in character, even including the interchange of food by the two families involved, that, if it is not old, it certainly represents a change from within the indigenous cultural pattern. That this feast is now breaking down and being supplanted by a European-like party is indicated by Jorge Tepano's plans for the celebration of the birth of a first child to one of his sons. However, the exchange feature continues, although gifts other than food are now beginning to be used.

Of perhaps greater significance is the change being wrought by the local government school, not only via the forced introduction of Spanish, mathematics, and the like, but, indirectly, on the life habits of the adolescent. Not only are the initiation rites of puberty no longer carried out — nor have they been for some time — but the ancient attitude that young men up to the age of marriage should devote their time to pleasurable living has undergone a noticeable modification. It is possible that in this we have an influence from Chile, in that on the continent, which natives have been allowed to visit from time to time, a boy completes his education and goes to work. Although the age for such activity in Chile may be a bit later than on Easter Island, owing to more extensive education, the fact that the island's schooling is completed for a boy at age thirteen may account for the islander's new attitude that this period marks the beginning of work for their youth.

Having noted some of the more important acculturation changes in the life cycle of the Easter Islander, we may now turn briefly to some of the correspondences with ancient custom as determined from Métraux's attempted reconstruction of the culture of the past.

Although the *umu* feast on the third or fifth month of pregnancy appears to have been dropped, the *umu* at the birth of a first child, with its rite of first food for the mother, continues.[12] Whereas the adolescent no longer goes through a puberty rite, and must now engage in a certain amount of work, his earlier freedom of sex life continues unabated. Marriage, including the gift exchange and marriage feast, continues substantially as Métraux described it for the past,[13] except for the inclusion of church ritual and an unexplained, though minor, change in the manner of exhibiting the exchanged gifts. Here Métraux describes a conical framework of poles upon which the items were exhibited, while during my stay on the island I heard numerous references to the gifts being displayed in such a way that they formed a boat.[14]

Of special interest is the continued existence of the *tumu* grouping of lineages,

12 *Idem*, pp. 101, 103.
13 *Idem*, p. 111.
14 *Loc. cit.*

3:Drapkin D-5 (1934-1935) 1935
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showing the number of individuals with mixed blood, but second place, immediately following the Tahitian, in the table of percentages. This apparent contradiction is explained by the recent influx of Chilean blood, which tends to increase, while Tahitian, German, French and other older strains have a tendency to diminish, so that the proportions of these elements are rather low.

CIVIL REGISTRATION

The great freedom which prevails in sexual relations does not prevent frequent legal marriages. As a general rule, the natives marry young and a celibate over 30 years of age is an exception. In numerous instances widowed persons remarry, especially if still young, and there are widows who have had three or four husbands (Catalina Tori Makotahia, for example).

Therefore, even if one considers as celibates all the young people over 13 years, the percentage of married people remains always greater.

	Individuals	Percent
Married	112	46.66
Celibates	94	38.74
Widowed persons	34	14.60
Total	240	100.00

ILLEGITIMATE AND LEGITIMATE CHILDREN

From 1915 to 1917, following the creation of a government register at Easter Island, almost all the unions which had been given religious consecration were legalized and at the same time the greater number of the children legitimized. That is why we shall consider as illegitimate those children who were born out of wedlock after 1917 and those who were not recognized at that time.

Even with these reservations the number of illegitimate children is fairly high. It amounts to 96, which constitutes 21 percent of the total population.

ILLITERACY

Public instruction in Easter Island until the past year was the most rudimentary. Long periods of no schooling at all alternated with more or less accidental sessions of class work. It was not until 1934 that a public school was organized, always dependent upon the

3:Drapkin D-5 (1934-1935) 1935
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[177] Provincial Director of Public Instruction, Valparaiso. It is entirely 212 due to these circumstances that there is a large number of illiterates among the Easter Islanders, in spite of their remarkable intelligence and their extremely keen desire for education.

153 Easter Islanders, in the manner of most of the Polynesians, are of an open, observing nature, having extraordinary faculties for [177] assimilation. They are constantly on the watch for every new bit of knoweldge and adopt with a veritable passion every innovation, material or intellectual. Individuals of exceptional talent should have special advantages. Their present condition does not favor them at all in this respect.

191 Because Easter Island belongs to Chile, the official language is 177 Spanish, naturally. Up to the present the Chilean influence consists [648] only of the presence of a Commissioner whose functions include those of Civil Registration Officer and Schoolmaster. Therefore it is not surprising that most of the natives, if they understand Spanish, do not speak it except very badly. Only a small group of individuals are capable of more or less correct expression in this language. The women are even more conservative in their language and traditions; there are few who can carry on a conversation in Spanish.

212 We shall consider as illiterate all natives who do not read or write any language, for quite a number among them read and write the Easter Island language or Tahitian. Without counting the children under 10, of whom there are 183, there are actually 147 illiterates, that is to say 53.85 percent. One hundred and twenty-six, or 46.15 percent, read and write.

VITAL STATISTICS

114 It would be necessary, in order to complete this brief contribu- 163 tion to the demography of Easter Island, to give statistics for births, 165 mortality, marriage, sanitary conditions, etc. Unfortunately, various circumstances have made this task impossible. The bureau of civil registry, installed at Hanga Roa in 1915, has been neglected. Also no official census of the population has been made until now. In addition, the island is without doctors who could have studied the sanitary conditions and the causes of death. To complete the difficulty, one series of the records of the civil registry has disappeared.

4:Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1945
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000 We saw Easter Island for the first time on a rainy day in winter. It was also my first sight of a Polynesian island. I did not expect, of course, to find the classic coconut palms and hibiscus, for I knew that the island was without trees or shrubs, but I certainly had not imagined that this outpost of the sunny islands in the South Seas would remind me, as it did at once, of the coasts of Sweden and Norway. When the cruiser on which we had made the voyage anchored off Hangaroa, the only modern village on the island, memories of Scandinavia came even more vividly into my mind as I examined through my field glasses the frame houses of the natives, which are of a type common in northern Europe. The capital of the legendary Easter Island looked, for all the world, like a humble fishermen's hamlet seen in a fog on the Baltic.

609 I shall never forget that first day when we were anchored just off the little harbor. Gusts of wind drove long rollers against the shore with such force that they broke amid spouts of spray with a deep pounding. In front of the sandy cove, the waves piled up over a bar that, it seemed, nobody could cross. The natives gathered on the [203] beach did not appear very eager to meet us, but the *karanga*, the cries which announce any important event, had sounded in the village, and from everywhere, on all the paths leading to the sea, we could see men on horseback coming at full speed. Near the boathouses a palaver was held, and on the outcome of that everything depended. The commander of the cruiser had decided that on no condition would he put us and our 90 boxes of equipment ashore. Our only hope for an immediate and safe landing lay with the natives.

609 Suddenly we saw them rush to the boathouses, drag three canoes 502 toward the sea, jump into them and disappear in the surf. We held our breath, expecting the canoes to capsize in their attempt to cross the bar. But after a short time, one, two, then all three surged up from the wall of water and headed toward our ship. The men were received with cheers, a well-deserved tribute to their courage and skill.

291 When the canoes reached our ship we saw that they were full of natives wearing the most surprising disguises. The majority were • 177 dressed in old uniforms of the Chilean navy. In one canoe there were, it appeared, lieutenants, admirals, surgeons, and engineers. A few had also put on feather headdresses, similar to those in which [439] their ancestors had received Captain Cook, but they wore them merely as an advertisement of the native wares of all kinds which they wished to trade for shirts and sailors' caps.

144 Each time I find myself using the word "natives" for the modern inhabitants of Easter Island, I have a hesitant feeling, just as hesitant as on that day when I first saw their faces over the railing. I

4:Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1945
OY2 Easter Island OY2

could not decide whether these men were a heterogeneous crowd of European beachcombers or real Polynesians, the sons of the sea rovers who had colonized the island. That European blood flowed in their veins, there was no doubt. Some of the men who came aboard and tried to sell their curios looked decidedly French; others might almost have had brothers or cousins in Hamburg or in London. Yet there was something exotic in all of them and traces of old Polynesian descent could be seen in their black, wavy hair, in the strange, vivacious dark eyes, in the high foreheads. These first Easter Islanders whom I met impressed me as of mixed race. Later, genealogical investigations showed that only a third of the present inhabitants could claim descent from a pure Polynesian ancestry—and the claims were not always well attested.

There is one misconception about these people which should be dispelled. It has been stated over and over again that the modern Easter Islanders are a degenerate population and that they can have nothing in common with the people who carved the statues and inscribed the tablets. This is not true. They appeared to me in many ways to be highly gifted.

During the 6 months I spent on the island, I found myself compelled to admire their ingenuity and their remarkable talent for assimilation. No European village has given me the impression of more intelligent adaptation to a changing world. This capacity is doubtless responsible, in part, for the passing of the old culture. Though the most isolated people in the world, the Easter Islanders are constantly on the lookout for new ideas, new fashions—and also new vices. Their extraordinary faculty for exploiting any weakness or interest in their visitors has had some amusing results. For example, a few years after the missionaries came to the island, the natives started to speculate on the antiquities and on the mysterious past of their little country. Finding that foreigners were interested in the small wooden images of emaciated figures which had been one of their forefathers' greatest artistic achievements, they proceeded to produce crude imitations by the hundreds. The modern craftsmen are without illusion as to the perfection of their work, but they excuse themselves by saying: "Why should we bother about beauty and finish when our patrons don't discriminate between good and bad images and we get in exchange the soap and clothes we want?" Thanks to this commercial instinct, several of their old industries have been kept alive.

One of their greatest and most profitable activities is palming off on amateur archeologists rough stones alleged to be ancient artifacts or well-made imitations of them. The very day of my landing a native cynically proposed to cooperate with me in faking old imple-

10: Cooke D-5 (1886) 1899
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

164 ations, was spoken of by them, and was attributed to walking barefoot
753 over certain running vines usually growing among the rocks at the sea-side. On reaching such places they seemed to avoid them, but nothing definite or reliable was elicited, and subsequent inquiries were overlooked in the hurry of departure.

VILLAGES AND HABITATIONS.

361 The villages on the island are three in number, Hanga-roa, near the bay of the same name, on the western side; Mataveri, within a mile of the former, and Vaihu, near Cape Hoe-Hoe, on the southerly coast of the island. Much the larger part of the population is gathered in the two [162] villages first mentioned, between which the people are about equally distributed. At the first named is the church of the Catholic mission.

About a half mile south of Mataveri, near the base of Rana Kao, and separated from it by the most distinctive valley on the island, is the residence of Mr. Brander, the first erected and by far the largest, roomiest, and most convenient; modern-built, of wood, with lofty ceilings, and porches, and shade trees growing about it. It is, however, in a sad state of repair, and the evidences of neglect and thriftlessness are apparent everywhere.

Vaihu, which can no longer be called a village, is about 4½ miles to the eastward of Mataveri. It was at one time a Catholic mission, and the church and parsonage, still in a fair state of preservation, yet remain, together with a few outbuildings, all of which are occupied by Mr. Salmon and his employees, perhaps a dozen in all. Divine service, under the leadership of native "missionaries," is still held in one portion of the church, while the remainder is appropriated to other purposes, mainly for the storage of wool, obtained from the sheep, considerable quantities of which are shipped to Tahiti.

000 The habitations of the ancient image and platform builders, the stone huts on Rana Kao, will be described in other reports.

342 Until quite recently the house of the modern Rapa Nuiis were some-
171 what similar to those of the Fijians, being rectangular in shape, about 6 to 8 feet wide by 10 to 15 feet long, with nearly perpendicular sides, peak-roofed lengthwise, door on side, and thatched all over.

342 A few years since an Oregon lumber vessel was wrecked on the island
177 and much of her cargo, which consisted of boards, scantling, etc., was brought ashore. Of these, under suitable instruction, the natives built themselves houses, and nearly all are now domiciled in comparatively modern style habitations and far more comfortably than formerly. These houses, which after all have a very forlorn look, are from 15 to 20 or more feet long by from 10 to 15 feet wide. The weatherboards are neatly fitted to the frame of scantling, and they are covered with a board roof. There are usually two doors hinged opposite each other on the long sides of the house, and a small window or two close by the entrances, and sometimes glazed, admit a feeble light when the doors are closed.

10: Cooke D-5 (1886) 1899
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

of injuries inflicted by her husband in a moment of blind rage over some grievance, fancied or real. In this connection it may be mentioned that subsequently this same woman went to nurse Pakomeo, previously mentioned, who was ill at the time. Upon the recovery, so well pleased were they with each other that she abandoned her cruel spouse, remained with Pakomeo, was living with him as his wife at the time of our visit, and the arrangement seemed mutually satisfactory.

The custom of tattooing has fallen off within the last few years and is now rarely or never practiced. It is only among the adults, more especially among the older people, that good examples may be found. Unless the inhabitants of other islands, where a standard pattern is adhered to, the Rapa Nuiis seem to have affected no uniform fashion nor limited themselves to any particular style. The custom obtained alike among the male and female members of the community. Generally speaking, the ornamentation was as follows: A narrow band around the upper part of the forehead, at the edge of the roots of the hair, with little balls, each joined to the band by a stem, pendant from it, the whole simulating a coronet; a line around the outer free edge, the helix, and lobe of the ear; a line around the edge of the lips; the neck in its entire circumference, either in straight lines, vertical or oblique, or with the lines wavy; three radiating exclamation marks beneath each ear, common among women at the present day; a girdle about the waist, in broad bands, with an attempt at lace work, or fringe, from which rise heavy lines, at the ends of which, toward the axillæ, are fanciful figures resembling faces, with a larger face in the middle of the back; fine lines down the thighs anteriorly; heavy, undulating bands posteriorly, running over the buttocks toward the waist; wavy or straight perpendicular lines, terminating in points, around the legs, and elsewhere.

The material used in tattooing is made of the soot obtained by burning a plant with a leaf similar to our Indian corn, and called by the natives *ti*, moistened with the expressed juice of a berry similar to our pokeberry, and called *poporo*. Pieces of bone, finished like a fine-toothed comb, or fish bones made fast to a short stick, are used to prick the skin by holding in contact with the surface and striking it a brisk blow.

Before the advent of the missionaries the Rapa Nuiis possessed scant wardrobes. They made a coarse cloth woven of the fibers of the inner bark of the *mahuti*, Chinese paper mulberry, or of the *burau*, another fibrous tree, which they wore about the shoulders and loins. This cloth was also used, in the manner of a shield, as a protection in battle against the enemy's spears, which latter was, with the exception of the war club, their principal weapon, the head being made of obsidian, numbers of which may be found on the island. They also made siapu, or tapa, as do the natives of other islands, by beating out the bark and wearing the same as a breechcloth. With the coming of the missionaries civilized clothing was introduced and is now generally worn, comprising coat, shirt and trousers, among the men, and a loose gown of cotton mate-

10: Cooke D-5 (1886) 1899
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

rial, printed or plain, for the women. Shoes are worn on only special occasions of ceremony, as, for example, during our visit. On their heads both sexes alike wear hats, the material of which is either bulrushes or long, slender leaves, torn into narrow strips, braided and then sewn together spirally. In making these they are far behind other islanders, the Tahitians more especially, attributable mainly, however, to the want of proper material rather than to the lack of intelligence.

Crimes of any sort, but especially the graver ones, are of great rarity, and murder, at the present day, unknown. Petty thieving is common, is considered a venial offense, and the injured party seeks redress by stealing in kind, if possible, but in any event, stealing from the thief. There are no punishments, so called. Mr. Salmon, who is guide, philosopher, and friend to these people, unites in his person (and being a giant in stature, he can well contain them) the duties of referee, arbiter, judge. They entertain the greatest respect for him; evince the utmost affection; look up to him as their master; go to him with all their troubles; refer to him all their disputes and grievances. His word is law, and his decisions final and undisputed.

There is a schoolhouse in which the people are taught from books translated into Rapa Nui language by the priests formerly here, and most of the natives can read and write. The functions of pedagogue are performed, after a fashion, by Pakomeo, the survivor of the Peruvian captives, who is also a preacher among them and conducts the services at the little church. The form of salutation on meeting is kohomai, "come to me." The reply, koe, which means "thou," you, yourself. In Tahiti, Society Islands, and Rarotonga it is, la-ora-na, "may you live in God." In the Samoan group, kalofa, "love to you" and tofa, "may you sleep."

With regard to the burial rites, it may be stated that no particular respect is shown persons of rank while living; still less do they receive any special funeral ceremonies when dead. All are treated alike in this regard, on the principle, presumably, that death levels all. The period of mourning extends over three days, and the rites are simple enough. Nowadays the service of the church is usually invoked. The body is carried out of the house and removed to some distance, either in the open plain, or to one of the image platforms, or into a cave, where it is exposed to sun and air (incidentally, it may be mentioned, also to predatory rats and cats in a semiwild state, which roam the island in large numbers, the former especially) until either dry, decomposed, or partially devoured. In the caves the remains are then shoved into an out-of-the-way corner and walled in with loose stones. At the platforms they may be laid away under a gigantic prostrate stone image, or placed in an excavation, either in the face or floor of the platform, or simply put in a convenient spot and covered up with stones. On the plains a circular conical cairn, truncated at top, 6 to 8 feet high, and built of loose bowlders, is frequently erected over the remains. Often the bones

11: Lavachery A-5 (1934-1935)1937
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

643 sided over the experts in *rongorongo*, the repository of ancient tra-
174 ditions, genealogies, etc. They used tablets (Kohau *rongorongo*) en-
[212] graved with signs as an aid to memory. The signs of *rongorongo* were the object of organized teaching.

174 The Pascuans practiced a form of double inhumation. The body
764 was exposed on the *ahu* until the flesh dried up or turned to dust.
769 The bones were then placed in the burial chambers. Sometimes the skull was preserved separately. There was a general fear of the spirits
[915] of the dead. Commemorative feasts were held in front of the tombs, where chickens were exchanged for a ritual purpose. The statues at the foot of Rano Raraku represent the dead. Several of them have tatoo marks which were still used during the historical period. Later, the images of the dead also were placed on the *ahus*.

174 The Pascuans had a large number of gods, the chief of whom was
776 Makó Makó. The same name appeared in other Polynesian mythologies. It would seem to be connected with the source of that which supplied the material needs of the Pascuans—cultivation and fishing.
[171] It was thus connected with the Marquesan Tiki, whose mask it resembled in almost every detail. Makó Makó is the creator of birds. One of the less obscure features of his cult is the indication, by means of birds, of a man [10] who probably represents the god, and who each spring gives place to another. Ritual feasts at which human flesh
[266] was eaten were a part of this cult, as well as also initiation ceremonies at puberty.

195 The end of the old culture was hastened by the arrival of Euro-
779 peans, who revealed a new world to the Pascuans, a world totally different from their own. From that time onward they lost without any effort both peace and the joy of life. Their restless spirit drove them to undertake the most savage warfare, which decimated them, ruined their culture and overthrew its monuments. Works of art were given up, traditions were lost, so that even the memory of their existence has perished. The whalers and slavers completed the task of destruction already well advanced. After being Christianized the Pascuans became ashamed of most of their past history, and essayed, not without success, to remove all traces of it from memory.

[10] Tangata Manu—bird man. He was the first to get possession of the first egg laid by the bird *Mesuforo* (breast) in the island of Motunui (spring equinox).

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demolition has gone so far that Beechey declares "the existence of any busts is doubtful."[1] It is amusing to find, a hundred years after Roggeveen's similar experience, that the *Blossom* has an affray with natives over the stealing of caps. While attention has been drawn to the importance of these early narratives, it must be remembered that all the visits were of very short duration, and that the old voyagers were not trained observers. The Dutchmen, for instance, deliberately tell us that the statues have no arms. The accounts frequently give the impression of being written up afterwards from somewhat vague recollection, and in most cases the narrators have read those of their predecessors and go prepared to see certain things. One navigator who never landed assures us that the houses are the same as in the days of La Pérouse. On the other hand, with regard to the stores available, they are, so to speak, on their own quarter-deck, and their remarks can be accepted without question.

In the "sixties" of last century the great series of changes took place which brought Easter Island into touch with the modern world. The first of these largely broke those chains with the past which the archæologist now seeks to reconstruct. Labour was needed by the exploiters of the Peruvian guano fields, and an attempt which was made to introduce it from China having failed, slave-raids were organised in the South Sea Islands. As early as 1805 Easter had suffered similarly at the hands of American sealers, and it was amongst the principal islands to be laid under contribution in December 1862.

It is pathetic even now to hear the old men describe the scenes which they witnessed in their youth, illustrating by action how the raiders threw down on the ground gifts which they thought likely to attract the inhabitants, and, when the islanders were on their knees scrambling for them, tied their hands behind their backs and carried them off to the waiting ship. The natives say that one thousand in all were so removed from the island, and, unfortunately, there were amongst them some of the principal men, including many of the most learned, and the last of the ariki, or chiefs. Representations were made by the French Minister at Lima, and a certain number were put on board ship to be returned to their home. Smallpox, however, had been contracted by them, and out of one hundred who were

[1] *Voyage to the Pacific, H.M.S. "Blossom,"* p. 41.

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to be repatriated, only fifteen survived. These, on their return to the island, brought the disease with them, which spread rapidly with most fatal results to the population.

Meantime, shortly before the raid, the attention of the Roman Catholic "Congregation of the Sacred Heart of Jesus and Mary" in Valparaiso had been drawn to the island by the account received from a passing ship, and they determined to inaugurate a mission. Three of the Community left for Easter Island, their route taking them by way of Tahiti. Finally, only one continued, Eugène Eyraud, who landed on the island in January 1864. Eyraud was a lay brother in the Order, having been a merchant in South America; he devoted his life to the call to take the Gospel to Easter, and the accounts of his work, which are extraordinarily interesting, leave a great impression of his courage and devotion.[1] He was alone on the island for eight or nine months, and was at the mercy of the natives, who stole his belongings, even to the clothes he was wearing, and compelled him to make a boat for them. In March 1866, Eyraud, after a visit to Chile, returned with another missionary, Father Roussel, and the two were for a while blockaded in a house which they had put up, but the tide now turned. Either Roussel was a man of greater determination than Eyraud, or with increased numbers a firmer attitude was possible. Surgeon Palmer of H.M.S. *Topaze* tells us that when one of the natives took up a stone with a menacing gesture, Roussel quietly felled him with his stick and went on his way, after which there was no further trouble. The missionaries were joined later in the year by two more of their number, and became a power in the land.

Eyraud on his return from Chile was suffering from phthisis, of which he died in August 1868. When he was nearing his end he asked Roussel if there still remained any heathen in the island, to which the Father replied "not one"; the last seven had been baptized on the Feast of the Assumption. It seems natural to connect with Eyraud's illness the fact that there was at the same time a severe epidemic of phthisis in the island; so little was the need of precaution understood at this date, that even Surgeon Palmer, writing of the inroads made by consumption, remarks "which they (the natives) believe infectious."[2]

[1] See *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, 1866, 1867, 1869.
[2] *Journal Ethnological Society*, Vol. i. p. 373.

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"paré-pu," which the old mariners describe as "fearsome monstrosities"[1] (fig. 88). Various old persons said that they remembered seeing men with a pattern on the back similar to the rings and girdle of the images. It seems, however, doubtful whether the image design merely represented tattoo, in view of the fact that it was raised, not incised, and in any case this would only put the search for its prototype a stage further back. The fact, however, remains that those particular marks were still being perpetuated, and form a link connecting the present with the past. Beechey, in 1825, tells us the women were so tattooed as to look as if they wore breeches. In addition to this kind of decoration, the islanders adorned themselves with various colours: white and red were obtained from mineral products found in certain places; yellow from a plant known as "pua,"[2] and black from ashes of sugar-cane. They had a distinct feeling for art. Some of the paintings found in caves and houses are obviously recent, and it is a frequent answer to questions as to the why and wherefore of things, that they were to make some object "look nice."

It will be remembered that not only have the images long ears, but that all the early voyagers speak of them as general among the inhabitants. It was therefore somewhat surprising to find that no such thing was known as a man whose ears had been perforated, though with the women the custom went on till the introduction of Christianity, and two or three females with the lobe dilated in this manner still survived (fig. 90). At last one old leper recalled that the father of his foster-father had long ears, and on asking as a child for the reason, he had received the illuminating reply that "the old people had them like that." He also mentioned one or two others with similar ears, and this was subsequently confirmed by other authorities. It will be seen that the custom, as far as men were concerned, of dilating the lobe of the ear, must have been abandoned at the end of the eighteenth century, or just about the time of the visits of the Spanish, English, and French Expeditions. That this was cause and effect, and that they imitated the appearance of the foreign sailors, seems more than a guess; it will appear from other

[1] *Voyage of Gonzalez*, p. 90.
[2] One of the Scitamineæ—further determination awaits the blooming of plants brought back to Kew.

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sources how great was the impression which was made by the foreigners.

Social Life.—Roggeveen's description of the people as being of all shades of colour is still accurate. They themselves are very conscious of the variations, and when we were collecting genealogies, they were quite ready to give the colour of even remote relations: "Great-aunt Susan," it would be unhesitatingly stated, was "white," and "Great-aunt Jemima black." The last real ariki, or chief, was said to be quite white. "White like me?" I innocently asked. "You!" they said, "you are red"; the colour in European cheeks, as opposed to the sallow white to which they are accustomed, is to the native our most distinguishing mark. It is obvious that we are dealing with a mixed race, but this only takes us part of the way, as the mixture may have taken place either before or after they reached the island.

They were divided into ten groups, or clans ("máta"), which were associated with different parts of the island, though the boundaries blend and overlap; members of one division settled not infrequently among those of another. Each person still knows his own clan.

In remembered times there were no group restrictions on marriage, which took place indiscriminately between members of the same or of different clans. The only prohibition had reference to consanguinity, and forbade all union nearer than the eighth degree or third cousins. These ten clans were again grouped, more especially in legend or speaking of the remote past, into two major divisions known as Kotuu (or Otuu), and Hotu Iti, which correspond roughly with the western and eastern parts of the island. These divisions were also known respectively as Mata-nui, or greater clans, and Mata-iti, or lesser clans. The lower portions of the island were the most densely populated parts, especially those on the coast, and the settlements on the higher ground appear to have been few (fig. 91).

In Kotuu, the Marama and Háumoana inhabited side by side the land running from sea to sea between the high central ground and the western volcano Rano Kao. They had a small neighbour, the Ngatimo, to the south, and jointly with the Miru spread over Rano Kao and formed settlements by the margin of the crater lake. The Miru lived on the high, narrow strip

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return they laid plentifully, and, as soon as the nestlings were hatched, the men of the celebrating clan carried them to the mainland, swimming with them in baskets bound round the forehead after the manner of the first egg. They were then taken in procession round the island, or, according to another account, only as far as Orohié. It was not until the piu had been obtained that it was permissible to eat the eggs, and they were then consumed by the subservient clans only, not by the Ao. The first two or three eggs, it was explained, were "given to God"; to eat them would prove fatal. Some of the young manu tara were kept in confinement till they were full grown, when a piece of red tapa was tied round the wing and leg, and they were told, "Kaho ki te hiva," "Go to the world outside." There was no objection to eating the young birds. The tara departed from Motu Nui about March, but a few stragglers remained; we saw one bird and obtained eggs at the beginning of July, but the natives failed to get any for us in August. When in the following spring the new bird-man had achieved his egg, he brought it to Orohié and was given the old one, which he buried in a gourd in a cranny of Rano Raraku; sometimes, however, it was thrown into the sea, or kept and buried with its original owner. The new man then took the place of his predecessor, who returned to ordinary life.

The last year that the Ao went to Orongo, which is known as "Rokunga," appears to have been 1866 or 1867. The names of twelve subsequent years are given, during which the competition for the egg continued, and it was still taken to be interred at Raraku. The cult thus survived in a mutilated form the conversion of the island to Christianity, which was completed in 1868; it is said that once the missionaries saw the Ao dancing with the egg outside their door in Hanga Roa and "told the people it was the Devil." It must have been celebrated even after the assembly of the remains of the clans into one place, which occurred about the same time, but it was finally crushed by the secular exploiters of the island, whose house at Mataveri, that of the present manager, rests on the foundation-stones of the cannibal habitation (fig. 25). The cult admittedly degenerated in later years. A new practice arose of having more than one bird-man, with other innovations. The request to be given the names of as many bird-years as could be remembered

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met with an almost embarrassing response, eighty-six being quoted straight away; some of these may be the official names of bird-men and not represent a year, but they probably do so in most cases; chronological sequence was achieved with fair certainty for eleven years prior to the final celebration at Orongo. In addition to the bird-name, the names of both winner and hopu were ascertained, with those of their respective clans.

No. 113. Porotu acted as a hopu. He refused to be photographed, and the sketch was surreptitiously made, whilst obtaining the account of his official experience. He also assisted in carrying the remains of Ko Tori (p. 225).

Take and Manu

Two other ceremonies were mentioned in connection with Orongo and Motu Nui, but to obtain detailed information was very difficult. It finally transpired that of "take" no first-hand knowledge existed, as the rites had been abandoned thirty years before the coming of the missionaries. All that can be safely said is that those concerned went into retreat on Motu Nui, living, it was stated, in the cave where the hopu awaited the birds; the period was generally given as three months. A vigorous discussion took place on the subject between Viriamo and Jotefa, the oldest man in the village, seated on a log in the garden of the old lady. She was positive, in agreement with other authorities, that take was for children—"the boys and girls went in a canoe to the island"; he firmly adhered to the statement that his father went for take, after he, the son, was born. Tomenika stated that